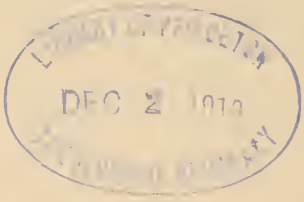
THE MIKADO

INSTITUTION AND PERSON

WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS



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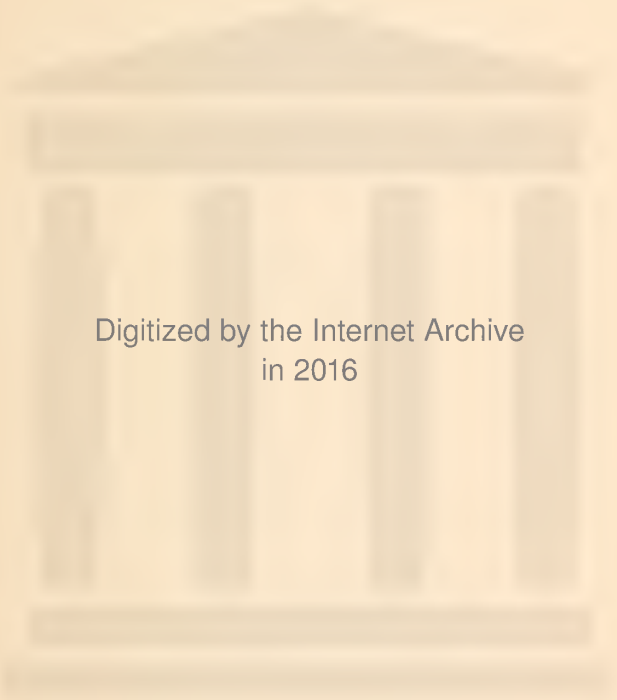

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THE MIKADO: INSTITUTION AND PERSON

A STUDY OF THE INTERNAL POLITICAL FORCES OF JAPAN

BY

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Believing, with all loyal Japanese, that the glory of Japan's triumphs in peace and war is due to "the virtues of the Mikado's ancestors," each one of whom was "the son of Adam, the son of God," the author dedicates this work to all lovers of truth in Everlasting Great Japan.

"A sweet perfume is on our Master's sleeve,
The perfume of the sweetest flower on earth,
Loyalty, growing in the nation's heart."

THE LADY ISAO SEIGENJI.

PREFACE

From the launching in 1850 of Commodore Perry's flagship, the *Susquehanna,* which I witnessed, to the end of the life of Mutsuhito the Great, in July, 1912, and the world events in 1915, my interest in Japan has never flagged. The present volume was written in large part during the lifetime of the august monarch, but the manuscript was withheld for much the same reasons of delicacy that prompt one to refrain from publishing the letters of a friend in the lifetime of their writer. In this age, however, the people who revere their great ruler's memory should fear neither the light of investigation nor the revelation of a human life, in however exalted a position.

Mikadoism is the symbol of all that is dear to the Japanese; yet, like all social forces, whether religion, or the magic of a great name, or the national flag, the dogma is often abused by its so-called friends, is made an unnecessary engine of cruelty, or is debased to selfish or mercenary purposes.

I have handled freely the ancient documents, and have given my judgment of Dai Nippon not to please or offend the Japanese, in or out of

power, but solely to get at the facts and truth. For what happened in my own lifetime I have set value upon the personal testimony and reports of eye witnesses, myself included, more than upon most contemporaneous writings of either natives or foreigners. I saw much of what I have written, when living in the interior under the feudal system, and later in the nation's capital. I talked with the soldiers, statesmen, feudal lords and princes who were leaders in the Restoration of 1868, besides discussing later with Japanese and foreign scholars the facts and philosophy of modern politics. Repeated audiences of the Emperor Mutsuhito and a study of his life lead me to place him among the really great men of our age. Without him, Japan could never have become what she is, and as the world recognizes her to-day.

W. E. G.

Ithaca, N. Y.
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CHAPTER I

A NATION ON ITS KNEES

At forty-three minutes past twelve on the morning of July 30, 1912, Japan's greatest Emperor breathed his last. With him ended the era of Enlightened Government (Méiji, 1868-1912) the most brilliant in the long history of the Empire.

Mutsuhito, Man of Peace, was born in Kyoto, November 3, 1852, when Japan was a hermit nation, inhospitable to the rest of mankind, her people numbering but 30,000,000 and living in an area of 150,000 square miles. The archipelago of Riu Kiu then paid tribute to China, and except in the southern part of Yezo the knowledge, interests and claims of the Japanese nation as to the northern isles, a hundred or more, were exceedingly hazy.

Nor had the people at large any dream, which later so dazzled the nation, of Japan's glory ever "shining beyond the seas." For seven centuries the Mikados had lived and died in Kyoto, with little more attention from the populace than was given to the falling of the autumn leaves on the distant mountains, and with much less direct

honor than that paid by multitudes to idols enshrined in many a temple. As a vague, mysterious, far off potency the Mikado indeed had an existence, but the man and the institution of Mikadoism were subjects of serious interest principally to those persons whose ambitions or patriotism led them to consider him and it as forming the chief but hidden motor in the engine of state. As such his person was jealously guarded, from 1604 to 1868, by the great military ruler or usurper in Yedo, who had surrounded Kyoto the Sacred City with feudal barons who were his own relatives. To the mass of the Japanese the Mikado was a sentiment rather than a personality. He was traditionally the embodiment of things sacred by inheritance from "the gods." The transcendence of the one ruler in Kyoto and the immanence of the other in Yedo,—the former having no force at his command, while the other held at his beck and call a mighty army of eighty thousand personal followers and a vast host of feudal retainers,—were expressed, as in a clear picture, by the saying familiar in every home: "The Mikado all men love; the Shogun every man fears." It had been forgotten by the people that the Mikado had ever been a visible ruler.

To all this the contrast, during the last days of July, 1912, was striking. On the esplanade fronting the Imperial Palace, in Tokyo, thous-

ands of people were gathered. On their knees, or bowing low in prayer, they pleaded with the Unseen Powers for the life of their Emperor. Many creeds were represented, but there was but one heart, and one silence of inward prayer uniting the Buddhist priest, the devotee of Shinto, and the Christian. Nothing like it had ever before been seen or known "Within the Four Seas."

Yet this gathering in Tokyo, at once spontaneous and prophetic, was but the type of many such all over the land. Congregations of hundreds and thousands, numbering in all many millions, were offering the same prayer. Even in war time, when little Japan had twice risen, like the Syrian lad before the Philistine, to meet the giants, China first and then Russia, there had been no such unity of thought and purpose. Within the Forbidden Enclosure native men of science, trained in the best transoceanic schools of medicine, were at or near the Imperial bedside. Bulletins issued from the palace to the public like minute guns. A strange contrast with the past, for in the days when Japan was hermit, death might come to the ruler and be concealed from the public for days, weeks, or months!

Ancient myth told how, in ages unwritten, the Imperial spirit turned into a white bird and soared into the heavens. Many a mother, even in

the modern Japan of electricity and steam, gathered her children at night around the floor hearth to tell them the story of these ancient burial mounds, whence the new embodiment in snow white wings emerged, and not a few fathers recalled the day when *Jun-shi,* or "dying with the master," was a fixed custom. They told solemnly how around the mausoleum of the ancient Emperors, or Ministers of State, servants or retainers were buried alive; and then how in the advance of more humane, albeit artistic civilization, clay figures took the place of living men. But all such things were in the far past. None suspected that any element other than the long sweep of centuries would divide these customs from the death of the great, broad minded Emperor in the era of Enlightened Civilization, when suddenly like a lightning flash out of the unclouded sky, fell the news of a great hero's suicide. Nogi, leader of the Ninth Division of the army, composed chiefly of the famed Echizen troops, the winner of Port Arthur, unquailing soldier, most loyal servant of the Emperor, white flower of Bushido, had gone to join his master. With like unquailing nerve the true Samurai woman, his wife, simultaneously with her husband bade farewell to earth. In strict faithfulness to the proprieties, with intention as clear as the dew, they left this world. In manifold ways, and spectacular, sad and startling, with the demise of Japan's great Emperor blended the old and the new.

Thus fitly closed the era of Méiji, or Enlightened Civilization. The name was taken from two words, each expressed by an ideograph, from a noble line in the Chinese classics, and meaning respectively "light" and "rule." The Occidental alien is apt to conceive of this new era, during which so many wonders have been wrought, as beginning with the arrival of the American squadron sent by President Fillmore in 1853. But the year periods of Japan are measured from the beginning of each Emperor's reign and Mutsuhito was "crowned" and "ascended the throne" on October 12, 1868, the new era being named eleven days later. Fifteen years of internal commotion and reconstructive force were necessary between the advent of Perry and the transformation of the old into the new Japan.

Then began a brilliant era, during which the Japanese became a new nation. Besides internal political metamorphosis, the glory of Nippon "shone beyond the seas" and the dream of ages, the vision of a few, became a reality for all. Having taken her place among the great Powers of the world, Japan in the twentieth century had become the Land of the Risen Sun. Her place in the councils of the nations was sure. Mutsuhito wore the decorations of the great sovereigns of Europe and died a Knight of the Garter. His brocade Sun Banner hung in Windsor Castle's chapel, while the President of the greatest repub-

lic, breaking all prccedents and beginning a new order of things, sent the highest officer in his Cabinet across the Pacific to express the sorrow and sympathy of the American people at the bier of Great Japan's greatest ruler.

What a wonderful era was that of Méiji! Greater than the humiliation of China, with the peace indemnity that enabled Japan to acquire a resistless navy, and, by commanding the seas, to humble Russia also, were Japan's victories of peace.

First of all and among the greatest of the moral glories of Méiji was the uplift to citizenship of a million outcasts. To-day they and their sons, under the battle flag, or in peaceful toil, honor the nation by their patriotism and industry. In the forefront of a thousand political reforms were the abolition of duarchy, vindication of the supremacy of the Mikado, the ownership of the soil by its tillers, the sweeping away of feudalism, the abolishing of old abuses, the transformation of Japan, both in its main features and in a myriad details, into a modern State. Crowning all was the superb national Constitution of 1889, with its limitation of the prerogative of the Throne, separation of Church and State, the granting of freedom of conscience and the electoral franchise, with blessings innumerable to the people.

How did all this come about? Even to-day

there are some who think that the coming of Perry, like a magician's wand, wrought the transformation. In America and Europe, sensation mongers still deem the Japanese mind "unfathomable." They wonder how such things as Nogi's suicide could take place, or that the Mikado's generals and admirals could win victories without an aftermath of personal squabbles and courtmartial trials. It seems to be a necessity to the mystery peddlers and the moneymakers to keep alive, on the stage and in popular fiction the purely literary legend of "the Oriental," as if he were a creature different from "the Occidental."

Two centuries before Perry arrived the great intellectual movement among scholars and thinkers had begun to leaven the nation and prepare it for the mighty change of 1868. Perry, or rather President Fillmore, did but add the tiny morsel to a supersaturated solution, which instantly crystallized to solidity. The President's action only accelerated what was in potency already proceeding. Far more impressive to the scholarly imagination than even the contrast which the theatre board or the uninformed editorial writer can show, was that moment when the native scholar Mabuchi, who after a long life died in 1769, resigned his office and emoluments to give himself to research, making the revelations of history and starting the great line of influences which ultimately made Japan a new nation.

CHAPTER II

JAPAN'S SECRET OF POWER

This spectacle of a nation on its knees, with hearts stirred to the depths, suggests both politics and religion, the past and the future, the root and the blossom. What is the secret of Japanese unity and power? What is, what will be, the political morality of modern Japan in international affairs? Will the nation in the coming years have a spiritual rebirth, as she has already undergone material transformation?

Until "a cycle of Cathay" ago—that is, sixty years—events in the Far East attracted but languid attention from Occidentals, for the Asian peoples were for the most part hermits. Their one word to outsiders was "Keep off." In Siberia tigers were shot in virgin forests where cities now teem. Korea's coast was desolated to starve out invaders. Japan was a sleeping Thornrose. China recognized none of her people abroad, and wished nothing to do with them or the aliens. To the Central Empire humanity outside was made up of neglected recluses or cowering vassals or distant barbarians.

Even after Japan had entered the world's

social life the alien's blindness to her real potencies was amazing. In 1872 I asked an English editor at Yokohama, long resident in the East, as to the profit of studying Japanese native history. With a wave of the hand, he dismissed the whole subject with the ejaculation: "Clan fights." I remarked that there was more than foreigners might imagine. "No," said he, "as one bucket, which a single cow could drain at a draught." Nevertheless for over forty-five years I have found that the study of Japanese history reveals new deeps and brings fresh surprises.

Ignorance in America was equally dense and perception not less obtuse. The Japanese were associated with the laundry shop and hair tails. Even the more aesthetic, who admired the unquestioned proofs of taste and refinement, answered my plea for respect of their political abilities thus: "Oh, no, the Japanese are an interesting people, but now that they have opened their country they will soon go to pieces."

But they did not. Crossing all seas and visiting all lands, they saw what other nations and civilizations could teach. Selecting, rejecting, they put all things to proof. The alien wanted dollars and the Japanese were ready to buy. Material resources being most needed and immediately at hand, they first armed themselves. They learned from the West the words, though

they knew their reality already, that "self-preservation is the first law of nature." They needed sure defence against sham Christianity, for they were not at one with the European notions about inheriting the earth and commanding the seas. The world wanted Japanese tea, silk, copper, tobacco, porcelain and lacquer. Selling these, the Mikado's people bought the best rifles, artillery, battleships and hospital gear. Trade went on merrily.

Yet during all the years of traffic their feelings were hurt. They hated the name "Quaint Japan." They said to themselves: "Why do these Western people admire us for that of which we are not proud? Of our finest art, our literature, our civilization, our moral stamina, our refinement, our codes of honor and ethics, the real secrets of our strength, they seem totally ignorant. Only here and there do we find a man who knows anything of our past, sees the true line of our advance or suspects our real ambitions. They do not want us to rise, and they say so. So let us hold back the robber hand and give the aliens a lesson. If they will not receive us for what we really are, in our Land of Great Peace, we shall force them to respect us in war. Both contemptuous China and aggressive Russia shall know our courage and power."

When, in 1880, the Central Empire, violating a solemn agreement, insulted her island neighbor,

by shelving the treaty concerning the Loochoo (Riu Kiu) Islands, which had been proposed and negotiated at the instance of General Grant, Japan pocketed the insult and waited. When in 1894 China again trampled on treaty stipulations concerning Korea, Japan went to war. Within six weeks the sea power of the Central Empire and her only disciplined soldiery were annihilated. Then, after Japan had scattered military mobs, exploded the bubble of China's military reputation, conquered an area larger than her own territory and was on her way to Peking, hostile Europe woke up. Three of the mightiest nations, Russia, Germany and France, joined forces to block Japanese ambition on the Asian mainland. The islanders yielded, but the shattered Chinese dogma of universal sovereignty was removed from the world's politics forever. By her might in war Japan had won the world's respect.

When in 1900 China's barbarism burst into eruption, and the legations of the civilized world in Peking were imperilled by a riotous mob called "the Boxers" Japan saved the situation. All the allies, except the Americans under Admiral Kempff, made war on a peaceful Power, by attacking the Taku forts. The Chinese dragon, stiffening its back for once, accepted the challenge of the unjust, and China's regular troops, goaded to resistance, now for the first time active in offence, held Tientsin. By superior

forces, totalling nearly 21,000 men, quickly landed, and by the astonishing efficiency of every arm of her military service, Japan held the van in the march to Peking. Had not Russia jealousy prevented, the Japanese, unaided, could have relieved the legations within twenty days.

In 1904, thrice armed because her quarrel was just, Japan challenged the idea of a Russian Manchuria, which meant also a Russian Korea—which no man born of a Japanese woman could endure without a fight to the death. The national public schools, incarnated in an army, smote ignorance on the war field and won. Russia gladly made peace.

Japan has won the admiration of the world and also the applause of the Anglo-Saxon nations by her political stability, elasticity and power. Duarchy and feudalism are deep in the ooze of oblivion. Exactly one century after the Philadelphia instrument of 1789, Japan's written Constitution of 1889 guaranteed liberal political rights to persons and conscience. This supreme law of the land, higher even than the Emperor's will, has in its working passed the stage of experiment. Old privileges abolished, all lines of promotion are open to the people. Once there was "a nation within a nation" and authority was divided, so old and strong had been privilege and custom. Now one nation, of over fifty million souls, is linked to the Throne in

unsurpassed loyalty. Now all unite in one ambition, to make Japan great. At home or abroad the native, intensely patriotic and ambitious, is resolved to raise his country to the equal of the world's best.

A proser in patience and work, the son of Nippon is a sentimentalist at heart. Japanese confess freely their debt to Cathay—witness the superb "Chinese Portal" at Nikko—and to sixteenth century Europe, as well as to the modern Occident. Nor is gratitude an unknown trait among them. They have raised memorials to Seibold, to Commodore Perry, to Townsend Harris, to "Verbeck of Japan," to General Meckel, who taught them strategy and tactics and, in one form or another, to scores of their British and Continental teachers. They have awarded decorations to half a thousand aliens, half being Americans. Great have been the meetings in Tokyo presided over by native statesmen and educators to express their indebtedness to American diplomatists, teachers, missionaries, and experts in every line of human achievement. It is absurd to ascribe the progress of Japan exclusively to forces within or without. Rather is it true that the best powers of the Orient and the Occident have here coalesced.

Yet great as are these external influences there seems but one answer that crystallizes the history of the Japanese and reveals as through a lens

their hopes for the future: Mikadoism. Standing as a portal to the national Constitution of 1889 is this declaration:

"The Empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal."

CHAPTER III

THE STATE OR ANCESTORS?

The Mikado is the living symbol of all that is glorious in the history of Everlasting Great Japan. He expresses to the sons of Nippon whatever is dearest in the present and auspicious in the future. He incarnates history and religion. His person embodies the nation's memory and the people's hope.

But who, politically, are "the people"? Iyéyasu (1542-1616), greatest of all Japan's statesmen in the past, who gave to the land more than two hundred and fifty years of peace (1604-1868), declared that "the people are the foundation of the Empire."

In 1912 a fierce controversy raged among the intellectuals of the Imperial University in Tokyo, as to whether the Emperor created the State or was himself the creation of the State. Against an ecstatic conception of loyalty was set the truth of history. The Japanese are supposed to be, like the Chinese, an old nation; but they are not. They talk of their "twenty-five hundred years of history" as foolishly and as baselessly as the Koreans do of their "four thousand." As well

may one date the achievements of Thor, or Cinderella, as to accept the Tokyo chronology, which was officially manufactured in 1872. Then were the "ages eternal" mapped and made orthodox by fiat.

The islanders of Nippon came into history about the same time with the Germanic nations of northern Europe, and are no older. Until the sixth century there were various tribes of diverse origins and of several ethnic stocks in the archipelago, Ayran, Semitic, Malay, Negrito, Mongolian, Tartar and Ainu; but these had no common bond of union or even knowledge of each other. There was then no more a Japanese than an English people.

Like all great nations the Japanese are a composite of various stocks. The ancestral homes of the various tribes had been in both continental and insular Asia, in Tartary, Korea, Formosa and the southern Pacific islands; while in the northern half of Hondo and in Yezo dwelt the Emishi, or the Ainu, whose characteristics and language point to their being a branch of the Aryan family. At the base the Japanese are as truly a "white" as they are a "yellow" race.

About the same time that our Teutonic fathers, unlettered and savage, came into contact with the Romans the tribes of Nippon entered definitely into relations with the Koreans and Chinese, who were the lettered and civilized peoples of eastern

Asia. Borrowing as much in the sixth century as in the nineteenth, these islanders became inheritors of a civilization which had already blended the ideals of India and China, and whose transcendent superiority was at once manifest.

Herein lay the vast difference. The Germanic tribes came into collision with a grand civilization in its decay. Receiving its culture, they hastened its destruction. The Germanic peoples made Latin the basis of their law and theology, but, retaining their vernacular, they built their own institutions and developed their life from within. The Roman Empire was but a temporary model. They refused to rewrite their ancestral story in the terms of Tacitus or Thucydides, and rejected the cult of Venus or Jupiter. Their poetry, legend and folklore were left untouched in the ancestral tongue and in time their thoughts and aspirations found a voice in their own cultivated poetry and prose. Only the priest and monk Latinized their speech and writing. For centuries, during their political evolution, the northern nations of Europe preserved external unity through the dogma and ritual prescribed at Rome.

With the Asiatic islanders something entirely different occurred. One tribe, or group of tribes, became dominant in Japan, giving the archipelago political unity, largely by means of dogma superimposed upon the aborigines by force of

arms. Their simple ancestral cult, when made an engine of state, ensured uniformity of administration. Then they proceeded not only to wipe out the varied tribal histories but to cover up all linguistic differences, in the interests of centralized monarchy, by the revolutionary measures of A.D. 645. The primeval names of mountains, rivers, places and even of persons were concealed or made unrecognizable by the use of official Chinese characters. The appeal of these ideographs to the eye and the method of their pronunciation made everything on the map seem uniformly "Japanese." Both politics and religion combined in this process. Buddhism, with its literary veneer of Chinese on everything, has been even more powerful than the Government in the making of the Japanese people. Shut off from the continent as they were, within an archipelago in the distant seas, the process of assimilating many tribes into uniformity was as easy and the results were as thoroughgoing as in Britain.

The vast element of difference in the experiences of the early Nipponese and of the Teutonic tribes was that the former, isolated islanders, were far more likely to come under one political influence and organization in order to make one nation, than were the northern nations on the European continent.

The Teutonic peoples, on the contrary, mi-

grated widely. Separated by mountains, rivers and morasses, they wrought their different destinies under varying conditions, their one bond of visible unity being the Christianity represented by Rome. But the Nipponese, instead of confronting a decaying civilization, came first in contact with the Chinese system, when in the noontide of its glory under the Tang dynasty (A.D. 618-905). The European barbarians were not so overawed as to borrow wholesale and preserve almost intact, as were the islanders who became the intellectual bond servants of China. The Teutonic peoples despised, rejected and finally destroyed Roman civilization. The Nipponese for a thousand years glorified China as the mother of all nations and made her civilization their standard of perfection.

The lines of evolution in the Far East and in the Far West were still further differentiated. In their social organization, the clan or family being the unit, the islanders were communal. They first borrowed from China and then retained ancestor worship. The Teutons were individualistic. In the West personality was cultivated in the intensest degree, in the East it was annihilated in institutions. Individuality, the glory of the Anglo-Saxon, was the bane of the Nipponese. All language, art, custom, history in the West show the spirit of individuality. The East, with its communal civilization, smothered

this feeling and made the clan or the family the unit. The individual is nothing; the dynasty, the commune is everything. The structure of the Japanese family is abhorrent to Western ideas. In the social systems of the West adoption is a rare episode, an exception. In the Far East it is the general custom, so that even the modern codes are gorged with the details of a system distinctly lower and most worthily despised in the West.

In a word, the old Far East, building its polity on ancestor worship, faced the past to find the golden age, allowing the graveyard and ghosts to tyrannize over the living. The West long ago heard the call to "let the dead past bury its dead," and dropped ancestor worship as a clog to progress. To the West it was, as it still is to China and Japan, a fountain of moral pollution. The eyes of the Occident are ever presented to the front and future. "Forward" is the watchword. In the Orient the dogma that "devotion to ancestors is the mainspring of all virtues" is the false doctrine ever preached. In the Occident consecration to the bettering of descendants is the supreme motor that secures progress. Nogi commits suicide to follow his Master in death. Lincoln, at Gettysburg, facing the future, charges the living to continue the work left undone.

In promulgating the Constitution in 1889

Mutsuhito said: "That We have been so fortunate in Our reign in keeping with the tendency of the times as to accomplish this work We owe to the Glorious Spirit of the Imperial Founder of Our House and Our Other Imperial Ancestors." It was an empty concession to ancient form. Mutsuhito had departed far from the ways of his forefathers.

CHAPTER IV

"UNBROKEN FOR AGES ETERNAL"

Japan claims the world's oldest unbroken line of rulers. In the Emperor's state documents, using the imperial "We," he calls attention to his own heavenly descent and ascribes ineffable virtue to his predecessors. The preamble to the Constitution, issued in 1889, reads:

"Having by virtue of the glories of Our Ancestors ascended the Throne of a lineal succession unbroken for ages eternal; desiring to promote the welfare of and to give development to the moral and intellectual faculties of Our beloved subjects, the very same that have been favored with the benevolent care and affectionate vigilance of Our Ancestors; and hoping to maintain the prosperity of the State, in concert with Our People and with their support, We hereby promulgate, in pursuance of Our Imperial Rescript, of the 12th day of the 10th month of the 14th year of Méiji [1882] a fundamental law of state, to exhibit the principles by which We are to be guided in Our conduct, and to point out to what Our descendants and Our subjects and their descendants are forever to conform.

"The rights of sovereignty of the State We have inherited from Our Ancestors, and We shall bequeath them to Our descendants. Neither We nor they shall in the future fail to wield them in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution hereby granted."

Seventeen articles, setting forth the place of the Emperor, in law and fact, as the fountain of order, power and privilege, and as the maker of war and peace, form Chapter I. of the Constitution. His person is sacred and inviolable. He combines "in himself the rights of sovereignty and exercises them according to the provisions of the present Constitution."

In the declarations of war with China in 1894 and with Russia in 1904 the same tone of language and coloring of ideas are continued. In all this there is nothing new. Such expressions are in harmony with all Japanese literature and with traditions at least a thousand years old. In his "Commentaries on the Constitution of the Empire of Japan" Marquis Ito reinforces the text.

In spite of the brilliance of their modern achievements the Japanese are not yet wholly out of their intellectual or ethical childhood. Little conception of history as a science, apart from their opinions and feelings, as yet exists. The glib but utterly worthless statements of even "educated" Japanese and renowned statesmen

concerning "their twenty-five hundred years of written history" have as little basis in literal fact or contemporaneous record as have the traditional notions concerning early Hebrew history, long dominant in the Jewish and Christian world. Even the Japan of the books, as known in the West, is the Japan of the Samurai; not of the great mass of the people. Rural Japan, that is, nine-tenths of all, is yet unknown.

It was about the opening of the fifth Christian century that Chinese culture began to filter into Japan, causing a profound revolution in the thoughts and habits of the islanders, giving them a new mental outfit, and altogether accomplishing a change as great as that wrought in the nineteenth century. Yet not till the eighth century were either annals or history written. All before that time is prehistoric. Native scholars now acknowledge this.

The story of Wani the Korean bringing letters to Japan, in A.D. 286, may have some basis of fact, but writing by a class, or body of scribes, was not practiced until after A.D. 552, for instead of the dishonest accuracy of the chroniclers of A.D. 712, who filled up the morass of ignorance by the manufacture of minutely dated events and dynasties, we have in the records after this date an entire change in atmosphere. From the fifth century sobriety and likeness to other historic records mark the chronological list of Japa-

nese Emperors. In fact, the table of Mikado sovereigns*—the first seventeen, of exceedingly long life, being clearly mythical—begins to look wonderfully human and actual. After Nintoku, who reigned A.D. 313-399, no Emperor reached the age of 100, nor even that of 90, and only two the age of 80. The days of thirteen of them were "three score years and ten." During the second period, in the Middle Ages, many short reigns of infants and little people of the nursery, puppets of the politicians, are noted, some lasting less than a year.

In our list of 124 Mikados, which includes Queen Jingu, whom some Japanese authors do not admit, "she having never been crowned or formally declared Empress by investiture with the regalia of sovereignty," mirror, crystal sphere, and sword, are nine female sovereigns, the last being Go-Sakuramachi (A.D. 1763-1770).

What kind of rulers were these first Mikados, kings of men, in the divine or prehistoric age, before the tremendous transforming influences of Buddhism, or of the Chinese ethical, political and legal systems or the institutions of feudalism were known in Japan?

All the evidence points to the fact that during this thousand years of unrecorded time, a great void which tradition fills so courageously and

* See the entire list, with dates of reign and age at death, in "The Mikado's Empire," p. 123.

cunningly, with an accuracy which is self-damnable, various races of people in the archipelago strove for the mastery. Craniologists declare that no skull known to mankind shows greater evidences of mixture of many ethnic stocks. Exactly who and what these various tribes were, no man can now say with certainty. The Japanese, made up of four races, Aryan, Malay, Semitic and Tartar, are still in search of their first ancestors, as they are of a religion. That they were fishermen and hunters living in the stone age is certain. Gradually the house or tribe of Yamato in central Japan became paramount. Like that of old Rome it was composite, many tribes forming one. Sending out expeditions to the far east and north, the Mikadoists gradually brought the other tribes under the sway of their chiefs.

By the might not only of superior weapons but of intellect the Yamato men wrought progress, conquering by Shinto, that is, theology, as well as with iron. Seen through official spectacles, the conquerors' ancestors came from "Heaven." They were a divine race sprung from the "gods," while those subdued were earthborn and therefore ordained to subjection.

Japanese mythology is the veiled and poetic representation of centuries of conflict that established Mikadoism and culture. Whatever the original religion of the islanders the graft that hides the stock is Mikadoism. In every Church-

State in which the ruler has claimed divine right religion has been made a political engine. To challenge or criticize the Government-made dogmas means heresy and lese-majesty. One who doubts or calls for the basic facts is not "sound" or "safe," and the inquisition, the sword or the synod may silence him. The orthodox Japanese is not unique in abridging or minimizing the difference between ancient and modern days.

During these early ages of Japan the chief, or, as seen through modern lenses, the "Emperor," was a warrior leading his host, accustomed to toil and the hardships of a soldier. The conquered tribes were made obedient, by as good a government, perhaps, as the times allowed. Leading men of the dominant tribe married the daughters of the subdued people. The general polity was a rude species of feudalism of the Chinese sort, in which eight parts of the ground were cultivated for the benefit of the landholder and his serfs, or tenants, and one-ninth for the chief of the paramount house.

From the very first and all along, language bearing witness to the fact, the sense of personality in Japan has been weak. Dwelling close to nature and not as far removed then as now from the old life which they shared with their fellow animals, the early islanders did not distinguish clearly between Creator and creatures, between the world and man. Millions of their modern

descendants do not, even yet. Each human being sank his consciousness in the idea of the place, the family, the clan, the institution. Along with a feeble sense of personality was the equally weak perception of individuality.

There are historical reasons why Japanese nouns have neither gender, number nor case; why verbs lack inflections; why personification is so very rare in their older literature; why mythology is so abundant and why real history is so small in quantity and poor in quality. The individual was nothing; the tribe, clan, community, everything. Even with the modern codes of law, which cut straight across the grain of Japanese family life and hereditary notions, the average native has not the full clear sense of individuality and personality dominant in America. It will be long before he, longer before the Chinese average man, reaches this goal, even though his progress toward it is unmistakable.

The head of the Yamato house had at first no title corresponding to any of those verbal forms afterward borrowed from Chinese imperialism, nor was there a nobility modelled on continental court systems. Buddhist priests, much later than A.D. 552, invented many titles for the chiefs of the Yamato tribe, who gradually became a sedentary recluse. His headquarters were named the Awful Place, or Mikado, from *mika,* awful, and *do,* place. Or, since in Japan the gateway is

often as outwardly imposing as is the main structure, being the only one which the outsider sees, the term may mean the Sublime Porte, from *mi,* honorable, and *kado,* gate or door. In Hiuga province there is a village named Mikado.

In any event it was the place, the power, not the real person that was considered. Personality was made invisible. The chief was not spoken of by his personal name. Even in our day, it not being polite to utter it, the Mikado's name is rarely mentioned. He is referred to by one or another of many impersonal titles, and Mutsuhito the Great, now dead, is now known as the Méiji Tenno, or Son of Heaven of the Era of Méiji. Even the present Mikado is to millions less a personality than a celestial function. Most Japanese do not inquire into details concerning him. Native literature is almost silent concerning his life as a man, yet the newer journalism has broken many old traditions. The title Mikado is not used by modern Japanese, the term Tenno taking its place. Nevertheless both history and the English language have their rights.

In A.D. 645 the primeval system of chieftainship, with the simple relation of conquerors and vassals, was changed to a very elaborate form of government, when Chinese imperialism, or the method of political centralization, was introduced from beyond sea into Japan. This did away with the rude, primitive feudalism and substituted the

method of "capital and provinces," governors being sent out from the Throne and Court to rule in the name of the Mikado. Even more profoundly transforming in its influence upon the person, character and habits of the nation-chief was Buddhism, which came in along with Chinese politics.

CHAPTER V

MIKADOISM AND SHINTO

In the Occidental part of the modern world there exists nothing corresponding to Mikadoism, which is a survival and an anachronism. Yet in the Islands of the Risen Sun Mikadoism is more than Shinto, for it is older than the State. There was a Mikado—it is absurd to speak of this archaic figure as an "Emperor" unless we degrade the ancient personage and institution to the level of a Haytian "sovereign" or an Iroquois chieftain—before there was a Government. The social order was that of the clan. The tie of ritual, binding all, was without a name, something that "always had been." That is what Shinto, codeless, ethicless and without dogma, is to-day.

When this cult came into the presence of an imported rival, Buddhism, that threatened its existence, Shinto for the first time received a name, *kami no michi,* which means the Rule of the Superiors, or the Way of the "Gods." Using the Chinese term expressed in Roman letters, we have "Shinto," but employing a Greek word, "theology." "Shintoism" is both tautology and hybrid. Original Shinto had no mysteries, dog-

mas or ethical codes. It was simply propriety, loyalty, the attitude of mind becoming the ruled in presence of their rulers, of the subordinates before their superiors. In its ritual development it became the expression of the aspiring life. It showed how man felt in the presence of the spirits of the dead and the powers mysterious, for as yet insular man knew nothing of the infinite, nor dreamed of things metaphysical.

Dwelling in a land everywhere rich in hot springs, nature invited man to bathing, and cleanliness formed a large part of his daily duty. Being an agriculturalist, living alongside of hostile aboriginal hunters and fishermen, the devout Shintoist prayed to be clean, to avoid trespass on field, house and neighbor. He petitioned for deliverance from calamity out of air, land or sea, while invoking the fertility of his body and the soil, and rendering thanks for the products of each. By virtue of his relation to the Upper or Superior Ones, the Kami, all loyal tribesmen of Yamato, or those subdued by them, were Mikadoists, and hence Shintoists. The term for government, *matsurigoto,* or shrine visiting, meant also religion.

Before a "Japanese people" was conceived of the Mikado, or head of this "religion," social organization or class cult, claimed no personal moral superiority over his people, nor pretended to look after what later ages called morals. His

life was open to all, his human faults were manifest. He made confession of sin and defect like his own people. As life was communal he, as the head of the clan, was in orthodox theory the owner of the land, the people and all their possessions. Hence he prayed for them as for his own property. His falchion and lance had come to him from Ama, the Ancestral Region or "Heaven," and by these weapons he had won the land. Conquest is the basis of Shinto as a political force and an engine of state.

What he, the tribal chief, head of "Shinto" when this Chinese word and name were still unknown, and what he, as the Mikado, said in the early ages, when a Japanese nation was forming, he says now in the Constitution, according to which he summons or dissolves Diets, declares war or announces peace: "The rights of Sovereignty of the State we have inherited from Our Ancestors."

Shinto is not a religion in any technical sense. It is a national tradition raised to a cult and possible only to islanders. Then, as now, the palladia of the Mikado's station and rule were the sword, emblem of conquest; the mirror, emblem of the spirits of his ancestry; the crystal ball, symbol of pure government, or flawless rule.

Shinto is not a single form of belief, but a fusion of naturism with animism, a composite body of beliefs. In many respects the legends in

the Kojiki, Japan's most sacred scripture, composed A.D. 712,* resemble closely those of the North American Indians, and in the method of forming their names, each one a long sentence of description, the ancient "Japanese" were much like the Iroquois. The old life, in the primitive home, the ancestral land of Ama (Tartary?) and the village assembly are reflected in the "Council of the Gods" (*kami*) in Ama, or the High Plain of Heaven; that is, perhaps the very region in which Field-Marshal Oyama and his hosts won victory in 1905. In that primeval congress action and migration are decided upon. The whole "local color" of many of the earlier myths of the Kojiki is that of ancient Tartary. Up to this point, in time and space, the legends and chronicles are consistent and homogeneous.

With the advent of the woman, Amaterasu, or Heaven Illuminator [in Section XI] there comes in a most delightful and disturbing influence. The narrative loses its unity, and a new cycle of stories concerns this, the most famous of the Mikado's "ancestors."

The direct product of the myth maker is now very evident. On the story of the continental home, on the stock of an immigrant tribal tradition, is grafted a dogma. On a body of belief very much like simple monotheism, or at least

* Translated by Basil Hall Chamberlin, in Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

tending to it, we have now a ritual, pointing toward an earthly monarch, with festivals in his honor.

Evidently in the "Sun Goddess" conqueror and conquered have fused their traditions and made one cult, which becomes a highly developed system and coalesces with Chinese ancestor worship, a new importation in the islands. Before "Shinto," as formulated for a scheme of conquest, and previous to borrowing exotic ideas from China, the primitive cult honors the clan and the clan's progenitors. From the introduction of the Chinese system, ancestor worship becomes part of family life in the islands of Nippon.

In the forefront of the Kojiki's story we have the "divine comedy," which portrays the pranks of Susano-ö, the storm god; the flight into the cave of Amaterasu, or the Heaven Illuminator; the assembly of the gods, and the dancing of Uzumé before the cave door. In this narrative is discernible the origin of Japanese art, ritual, music, inventions, and indeed most of the rudiments of the island civilization.

After this comedy of the gods, or eclipse of the sun, so often described by modern writers, the legends center round Idzumo; not in the south, but in the west. These show diplomacy and compromise, through which one rule was exchanged for another. The arrangements between Ama, or Heaven, and Idzumo, as to dynasty, being com-

pleted, "the Sovran Child" of the sun goddess "descends" from Ama, or Heaven, to earth; that is, to "Japan," yet not to Idzumo, but hundreds of miles to the south, upon a mountain in Kiushiu, between Satsuma and Ozumi. After many adventures amid animal gods of all sorts, one chief sets out eastward on a tour of conquest.

Now we hear of Yamato, in which reign the conqueror rules as the first "Emperor" of Japan, whose posthumous name, given fourteen hundred years after his death, is Jimmu, or Warlike Spirit. Asuka was the classic spot in Yamato, in the center of the main island. Not till centuries after Jimmu do we hear of the eastern region, where Tokyo lies, or of Korea, and not until very late of China. After Yamato we read no more of Ama or the Heavenly Region, or of the old town or tribe meetings of the myriads of *kami,* or chiefs. In a word, the primitive tribal assemblies of (Tartary? or) the ancestral home fall out of view.

In the new land and under differing conditions, growing out of the fusion of the old and the new forms of conqueror and conquered, arise the institutions of "Shinto" and the Mikado. We have now a tradition of ruler and ruled, liturgies that express hopes and desires, and something like history, that tells us of the ruler's acts; in a word, Mikadoism. We have worship by the Mikado and his chiefs of nature gods, under the idea that these are "ancestors."

This is not true ancestor worship; the early Japanese system had no true ancestor worship, like that of the Chinese. Ancestor worship has profoundly influenced Japanese laws and social custom, yet is not indigenous but imported and was unknown in very ancient Japan. The grafting of this Chinese idea upon the insular civilization marked but one of many stages in the evolution of the nation.

Buddhism, rather than Mikadoism, educated, uplifted and made the Japanese "people," fostered their innate love of art and beauty, gave them their folklore, and, for the most part, their drama and literature. Mikadoism generated the military, political and unifying ideas and forces which have made the Japanese a nation and, from many tribes, one body politic. The rôle of Mikadoism has been from the first in the clan, that of Buddhism has been in the family.

What social order the islanders had before the seventh century was based on the clan idea, not on the family. The clans were not held by a true blood tie but were fictitious, in that people of different bloods, ethnic and tribal stocks, were in many cases united under one *Uji*. Even in our own days two unrelated families in Japan may coalesce to form one, making a "family" in the eye of Japanese law, but not in the Western or Christian sense. So, also, in ancient times, a clan was not a body held together by a blood tie. The

name, the legal entity, was the main thing. One after another these clans were overcome by one powerful family, the Soga. By the seventh century the Sogas not only controlled the administration of affairs but even threatened the existence of the Mikado, both as a person and as an institution.

There took place in A.D. 645 a revolution which in both its inner and its outer aspects was astonishingly like that wrought by the advent of Perry in 1853 and the *coup d'etat* at Kyoto, engineered by fifty-five young men, on January 3, 1868. In both eras the existing system was on the point of breaking down and the country was ready for political revolution. The interior forces of upheaval were soon confronted with influences from without. Native students had been abroad and "seen the world." They came back to Japan with yeast and leaven. They had looked upon better things and were determined to have improvement at home. They and those likeminded with them made, in A.D. 645 as in Kyoto, in A.D. 1868, a *coup d'etat.* The effect, as in the '50s and '60s of the nineteenth century, was not collision and destruction but a new resultant of forces. These, in the seventh century, began a new "Japan," which was relatively as wonderful as that we see in the twentieth century. In effect Chinese ideals, once imported, were immediately turned into practical methods.

Reforms were begun on paper, but the Government was not consolidated until the ninth or tenth century. The conquests of the Ainu in the east and the north, and of the southwestern tribes and people of the outlying islands, were completed only after four hundred years of military operations. These, followed by the machinery of civil government, completed the making of the nation; or, shall we say, ended the preparation for formal feudalism in the eleventh century.

By that time the type of Mikadoism that had grown up under the centralization system in the successive capitals at Asuka (two places A.D. 412-628), Nara (A.D. 719-784), and Kyoto (A.D. 784-1868) under a dual process made the chief ruler a failure and government by an exclusive ring of politicians a farce. The policy of the civilian Fujiwara nobles was to exalt the occupant of the throne to the "shelf of the blue clouds," making him, or it, a "god," existent but absentee from his people. The ideal Mikado of the Buddhist dogmatist was a monk and a recluse. In the modern list of the 128 Imperial portraits we see many shorn heads.* In both ways the living Mikado became more and more a shadow, an idea, an institution, and less a personality. Possibly the motive of the Fujiwara civilians, who hedged the Throne, may have been more than that

* A framed copy of this official picture is in the library of Cornell University.

of the officeholder's greed of power and pelf. Conservative precaution, more than personal ambition, may have been the ruling idea. To make the Mikado more and more a "god," while he was still holding political power, may have seemed dangerous to the State. Might not such a one revolutionize order and custom?

So, to save the State, it may be, the religious aristocracy separated the politician and his sacerdotal functions. The Mikado was made more of a "god" and less of a ruler, in order that government might be kept safe and sure. It is certain that when the military clans left the field in the twelfth century and came to court, exchanging the toils of the campaign for the luxury of the capital, to engage also in the splendid game of throne disposal, they did not alter the Fujiwara policy. They adopted it, but in their own selfish interests. The Taira clan chiefs, deposing their rivals, the Minamoto, did but rear another and a higher ring fence around the Mikado, showing also even a more shameless nepotism in filling offices.

Then, under the quarrels of the rough soldiers, the reds and the white, Taira and Minamoto (in Chinese, Genji and Héiké), feuds broke out which deluged Japan with blood, the Taira being annihilated and the Minamoto becoming supreme. Having both sword and purse, they overawed the Emperor and created the

duarchy of Throne and Camp, with centers at Kyoto and Kamakura, or, later, Yedo. Under the shadow of such a dual system, the power and life of Mikadoism sank to a mythology.

For nearly six centuries the institution remained a ghostly shadow, until the internal revolution, wrought by native thought and scholarship and the assault of Occidental forces, once more set the ancient organism on a new plane of evolution. The Americans Perry and Harris helped mightily to give Mutsuhito his throne. The Restoration of 1868 made the Japanese people a nation, in the sense of both an intensity and a plenitude unknown before in all their long history.

Pretenders to the throne have not been wanting in Japan, though no commoner, or noble, or prince not of Imperial blood, ever attempted to be a Son of Heaven. The best known of early pretenders was Masakado, of the Taira family. This dissatisfied officeseeker departed, in A.D. 930, to "the Far East," in the half savage region of Yedo Bay, governing as a Shinno, or cadet of the Imperial line. His reign was short, for in the year 940 Sadamori, his cousin, slew him, cut off his head and brought it to Kyoto, where it was exposed on the pillory.

Calamities, ascribed to the wrath of Masakado's perturbed spirit, followed, and to placate the uneasy dead there was erected at Kanda, now

in modern Tokyo, a shrine to the memory of the mighty Pretender. But in 1868 the loyal troops of the young Méiji Emperor, well read in the writings of Rai Sanyo, the interpreter of their national story, and full of hatred of all pretenders and traitors, thronged into the Kanda temple, overthrew the idol of the traitor "god," dragged it out into the street and with their swords chopped it to pieces. The spell of nine hundred years was broken. There was one "god" less to deceive the masses.

Japanese religion and social life did *not* begin in true ancestor-worship. The facts, as revealed in the Kojiki and Nihongi, are in flat contradiction to the theories of Mr. Herbert Spencer, Lafcadio Hearn and the native code lawyers, Dr. Hozumi and others.* These ancient records will always prevent uncritical patriots from "swallowing whole" later dogmas born from the necessities of statecraft.

* See also "Shinto" by W. G. Aston, London and New York, 1905, and "The Development of Religion in Japan" by G. W. Knox, New York, 1907, and "The Religions of Japan," New York, 1905, by the present author.

CHAPTER VI

THE MIKADO AS A MONK

In the period between Nintoku (A.D. 313-399), the seventeenth and last of the longlived and unhistorical Mikados, who were tribal chiefs, and the Emperor Gotoba, the eighty-third in the list, constituting fifty-six reigns, from about A.D. 400 to 1200, the Mikado was, in theory, the sole ruler of the land. During these eight centuries certain principles developed into institutions which profoundly affected the status of the Emperor. These were, (1) the influence of China; (2) the entrance and spread of Buddhism; (3) the great Reformation of A.D. 645; (4) the evolution of the military classes and their achievements, in war and in civil life; and (5) the formulation of Bushido, or the Warrior's Code.

In Kimméi's reign (A.D. 540-571) began a long procession of Buddhist missionaries and Korean teachers into Japan. The literature, architecture, medicine, the arts and sciences, costumes and comforts, customs and manners of the old "treasure lands of the West" (India, China, Korea) were brought to the Islands of the Sun.

Japan had her choice from the ripe fruitage of thought in India and Tibet and could select from the triumphs of Chinese civilization, enriched by Buddhist dogmas, new sentiments and ritual, together with whatever Korea, then rising to the zenith of her civilization, had to offer.

During this period Japanese warriors, making naval and military expeditions, went over into the neighboring peninsula; sometimes, and probably in most cases, as unauthorized pirates; but again as servants of the Mikado who furnished valuable allies to the Koreans.

After this tremendous infusion of continental ideas the islanders were able in A.D. 645 to move at one bound from feudalism to imperialism, from something like a rude confederacy, held together by one paramount house or tribe, to centralization that meant sooner or later the obedience of subjugated people. Nevertheless Kyoto, like Rome, soon had both its imperator or general and its Praetorian camp.

Until the settlement, in the eighth century, at Nara (probably a Korean word for "capital") the residence of the Court was migatory. In the five home provinces, Japan's ancient center, scores of names tell of places which were once capitals or seats of the Court. In most cases they have shrunk to humble villages. Japan has had sixty "capitals."

In the further transformation both of the

islanders and their central institution of Mikadoism the cult of Buddha, yielding both a literary and a spiritual treasure, stimulated the study of Chinese and opened a door into the treasure houses of Confucianism, which, though at first only an ethical system, had become a philosophy. Japanese Buddhism, which is simply the collective name of manifold influences during a thousand years, has been the nation's greatest and most thoroughgoing civilizer, becoming even the parent of Japanese ancestor worship; as distinct from the clan or official cult, making the insular idea and practice very much, though not exactly, like the true Chinese system. Furthermore the *bonzes* persuaded the Mikados to use no more the ancient term "Sumeragi," but, after the Chinese fashion, to adopt the title of "Tenno," King of Heaven, or "Tenshi," Son of Heaven. Now, in the native rhetoric of many centuries, the Mikado, in addition to the European equivalents for "Majesty," has a rosary of Chinese titles.

It soon appeared that nominal retirement furnished often only a mask for greater political activity in secret, when a puppet was on the throne. Mikadoism grew into a cult and later evaporated into an idea, or an abstraction, but the nation degenerated under this new variety of the dogma. Instead of being a man, priestcraft transformed Japan's chief ruler into an idol. It mattered very little who was on the throne. The

place, the office, rather than the person, was important.

It is against this foil of the historic degradation of the personality of Japan's Emperor, for which Buddhism is so largely responsible, that the Constitution of 1889, so explicitly and with emphasis, declares that "the Empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a line of Emperors." Mutsuhito, a true governor, lived a life of ceaseless industry in shouldering the cares of state.

Nevertheless, as seen in perspective, through the later centuries of war, the early Buddhist era (A.D. 552-1192), the era of Héi-an (Serene Calm) seems to the modern Japanese to be almost a golden age. They call the period from A.D. 1159 to 1603 the era of Civil Strife. Roughly speaking, the nation has had but two long stretches of peaceful time, that of the early Buddhist era, over a small area, comparatively, and that of the Tokugawa era of bureaucracy, from 1604 to 1868, in the Empire, south of Yezo. Japan's modern life has been marked by the two great internal, bloody struggles of 1868 and 1877, and two colossal foreign wars.

During this medieval era of Héi-an, as in every other period of Japanese history, popular reverence for the Mikado continued unabated. This was not patriotism, as we understand it, not even reverence for the Emperor himself, but

rather for the Throne. The man was sunk in the office. It was the place, the impersonal potency, which formed the center of all authority. It is, in our day, noisily asserted that no noble or commoner ever attempted to usurp the office of Mikado; but at this question, answered so differently by the delirious patriot of modern days and by the real history of Japan, we have already glanced. There is a blatant, unhistorical Mikadoism. Indeed, we may ask, why need pretenders arise? So long as it was possible to raise up figureheads on the throne, and thus conceal the mechanism of wirepulling and pipelaying, that is, of rendering invisible the real "boss" or worker of the machine, why should the politician crave nominal supremacy?

Even when the military clans, Taira and Minamoto, came to blows in A.D. 1159, and the latter were defeated and exiled, the victors did not seize the Throne, nor actually make one of their number a Mikado, but it was their nominee, Go-Toba, of Imperial blood, who took the sacred mat and behind the bamboo curtain reigned fourteen years (1184-1198).

During this century *hara-kiri,* or *seppuku,* a form of suicide not known in early Japan, began its vogue. In the opinion of some it originated "in the metaphorical use of the word *hara* [abdomen], which was the supposed organ for the begetting of ideas." Philosophically speaking, it

was the issue of the conflict between nominalism and realism, phases of philosophy that have played no mean part in the history of Far Eastern thought.

As civilization advances in Japan and insular and class ideals melt into a universal and higher system of ethics, the cult of *hara-kiri* is attacked even by Japanese reformers. Now, except for compelling and excusing reasons, the suicide is reckoned a moral coward, and thousands of natives are courageous enough to say so.

During this Héi-an, or Peaceful Period, many if not most of the various names, titles and titular or rhetorical references to the Mikado had their origin. Descriptive of the center of the nation's life, these terms now form a treasury of word jewels in the Aladdin's cave of Japan's classical poetry.

Alas that the modern Japanese have virtually let fall into desuetude the august and venerable native word "Mikado," associated for ages as it is with all things noble and venerable! In place of "Mikado" they have adopted a term of Chinese coinage, "Tenno," or "Tenshi," now used in ordinary native speech. This word, which cuts against the grain of progressive humanity and advancing civilization, means Heavenly King or Son. For foreign use they employ the title "Emperor." Perhaps the Japanese, following recent precedent in this as in other matters, notably their

once neglected art, and, for a time, their true assets of hereditary culture, will return to the grand and venerable title, "Mikado."

In official documents, "Kotéi," meaning imperial ruler, is employed and "Héika" has the force of "His Majesty." There are numerous other expressions relating to the Throne and its Occupant used in rhetoric or poetry.

The appellations by which the Mikados, both male and female, in the line, are known in history are all posthumous. Only expert scholars and antiquarians can recall the names by which the rulers of Japan were known during their lifetime. The official action of 1912 which declares that Mutsuhito (the Great) shall lose his personality and be known as the Méiji Tenno may follow national custom, but to the Western mind seems abominable.

The Mikado has no family name, but only a personal designation. This in itself is a note of very great antiquity. The fact that the Mikado has no name, like that of the Guelphs, Hapsburgs, Hohenzollerns, or others who have arisen out of the impersonal ooze of barbarism, shows that his predecessors ruled in a day more ancient than that of any Occidental house now reigning or acting as figureheads of social order in Europe. The line of Mikados has ruled from time immemorial, or as the Constitution declares "from ages eternal."

During this classical era the national literature and native art, already in evolution, as shown in the relics found in the dolmens and the Shinto oral liturgies and early songs, had their first notable development. Imitated from Chinese originals, or developed through literary or artistic suggestion, the symbols of the Mikado's personality and power also took form. The three legged crow in the sun, the sixteen petalled "chrysanthemum," originally the sun, with sixteen rays, the red ball on a white ground and the same now used by the War Department, on the army flag, but with sixteen rays added, are now well known, but the original suggestion came from China. The Mikado was as the sun, his Ministers and servants were as the moon; and this social dogma is shown in the ancient brocade standards.

Out of the rich treasury of native classical poetry a stanza of the eighth century, celebrating the glory of the Mikado and wishing him "Banzai," or ten thousand years of life, was selected, a few years ago, as the national hymn, and made by the soldiery during the war with China a battle cry. The classic words, *Kimi ga yo,* are now sung to a tune, suggesting archaic music, but written by a German musician. Some of the renderings in English are too florid, even to the exaggeration of fulsome flattery. Professor

Chamberlain's version, now the accepted one, is as follows:

"May our Lord's dominion last
Till a thousand years have passed,
Twice four thousand times o'er told!
Firm as changeless rock, earth rooted,
Moss of ages uncomputed,
Grow upon it, green and old."

Simplest of all is this version, also made by Chamberlain in 1880:

"A thousand years of happy life be thine!
Live on, my Lord, till what are pebbles now,
By age united, to great rocks shall grow
Whose venerable sides the moss doth line!"

A flamboyant and expanded form, containing ideas not in the original, is this:

"Until this grain of sand,
Tossed by each wavelet's freak,
Grow to a cloudgirt peak
Towering above the land;
Until the dewy flake
Beading this blossom's gold
Swell to a mighty lake—
Age upon age untold
Joy to joy manifold
Add for our Sovereign's sake."

CHAPTER VII

SEVEN CENTURIES OF ECLIPSE

I have set out in this volume to tell the story of Japan's development only in the phases of Mikadoism. In other books I have shown how the two leading military clans, the Genji and Héiké, or Minamoto and Taira, the Reds and the Whites, after settling down in Kyoto, quarreled, in A.D. 1159, over the spoils of office, the Throne being the chief prize. The former held the power and overawed Court and Emperors during several generations. Then followed a war of supposed extermination, but the Minamoto rose to triumph again, and the Shogun in the "Far East," at Kamakura, became the real power holder, while the personality of the Mikado in Kyoto grew more shadowy. There were two capitals and two rulers in the Island Empire. The families, in succession, as military governors of the country, that is, the "bosses," were the Minamoto (A.D. 1192-1219), the Hojo (1219-1333) and the Ashikaga (1335-1573). When in A.D. 1333 the eastern city of Kamakura was stormed and burned the partisans, once united in war, quarreled over the division of spoil, and, as

each side held to its own nominee to the Throne, a desolating war issued, which lasted fifty-six years. The Imperial dynasties were called respectively the Northern and the Southern. As the war progressed and widened the prime object was in a great measure forgotten in the lust for land and slaughter.

Finally, in 1392, the Southern Emperor, Go-Kaméyama, was persuaded by an envoy of Ashikaga to come to Kyoto and deliver up the regalia, or three sacred symbols, to Go-Komatsu, the Northern Emperor. The compromise was made effectual by declaring that the throne should be occupied alternately by the rival dynasties of the Imperial family, the two becoming one. The problem was soon solved. In a few generations, however, the Northern dynasty became extinct.

The orthodox view, held in modern Japan, concerning the Northern dynasty, consisting of the five "false" Emperors, Kogen, Komio, Shinko, Go-Kogon, Go-Enyiu, and Go-Komatsu, is that this line was illegitimate. A library of books by Japanese authors exists on the subject. In modern lists the names of the five Northern, or "false" Emperors, nominees of Ashikaga, were at first represented only by black spots; but now, on the rising tide of Mikadoism, both names and faces are given, though not in the official chronological order, making, in 1915, 129 in all.

This rough treatment of the Emperors and the

defiant attitude to the institution of Mikadoism by the Hojo regents enables the historical student to examine again the statement, made with the seriousness of an article of religion, that "the crime of high treason has never been known in Japan." As a simple matter for record, Mikados have been plotted against, assassinated, driven to exile and suicide, seized and put in prison, banished, their palaces attacked and the Imperial person held as prisoner. In the case of Masakado, as we have seen, assumption of sovereignty itself was made.

The dual system of Shogun and Mikado was maintained under the Ashikaga line of rulers (1335-1573). Art flourished and luxury abounded in the capital, but the Empire fell into anarchy. "Japan" was but a geographical expression for an area covered by a multitude of warring feudal fractions.

Then arose in succession the three great men, Nobunaga (A.D. 1534-1582); Hidéyoshi, who died in 1598, and Iyéyasu (1542-1616). These fought in the name of the Mikado to give the country unity, as well as to gratify their own ambitions.

Seen in the perspective of history, there are discernible in this era (1575-1604) the origins of two modern parties, that might be called the Federalist and the Imperialist; which, after mutual antagonism, became Unionists. The idea of the

first was incarnated in Hidéyoshi, the second in the Mikado reverencers of the early nineteenth century, and third in Okubo, Ito, and the Elder Statesmen of the Méiji era (1868-1912).

Iyéyasu, virtual monarch of Japan, founded in Yedo the Tokugawa regency, when "all memory of the personal rule of the Mikado had been lost for four hundred years." As a statesman of consummate genius, he surpassed all his predecessors in heaping honors upon the Emperor, besides re-erecting Mikadoism on a new and larger foundation, ordering that the Shogun should pay homage to the Throne. He rebuilt the palace in Kyoto and enlarged the revenues of the Imperial house. Apparently the reverence of Iyéyasu, in exaltation of the Emperor, could no further go.

Yet Iyéyasu paid honor only in form. He outdid the Fujiwara in elevating the Mikado godward, while eliminating the last vestige of his political authority. He made of a living man an idol in a shrine. He built a ring fence of fiefs, held by his feudal relatives, around the Imperial and sacred city. In Kyoto itself the strongly fortified castle of Nijo, always fully garrisoned, nominally protected but in reality overawed the Court. Approach to the Emperor, through such a threefold hedge, except by permission of the Yedo lord, was impossible. Nothing but a strong combination of clans and Castle Lords, unthink-

able during Japan's hermit days, could sap or storm such a triply guarded fortress.

To make guardianship sure one of the Imperial princes was obliged to live as a hostage in Yedo, for the Imperial house. Under monastic vows, as lord abbot of the Uyeno temple in Yedo, he was kept in virtual durance. The Court nobles were treated generously, but rather as poor relations. Though kept in comfort and good humor by social attentions and assurance of income, they were ever under espionage. Dutch writers, who told the outside world about the secluded Empire, were encouraged to say that there were "two Emperors" in Japan, one "spiritual," the other "temporal." Naturally it came to pass that the gifts of the United States, through Perry, to the Yedo Shogun, were labelled to "the Emperor of Japan." In 1872 I saw these cast off tokens of Shogunal glory and alien misinterpretation of reality. Between pity and wrath I enjoyed richly the humor of the affair. Here, at Shidzuoka, was one of the colossal jokes of the ages.

In American history Jefferson and Madison, though in their lifetime political opponents of Alexander Hamilton, the chief artificer of the Government of the United States, followed out, after his death, their adversary's policy. So, although the new ruler, Iyéyasu, was nominally an enemy of Hidéyoshi, he was the real executor of his political will, in giving peace and unity to

the Empire. A favorite Japanese picture shows Nobunaga and Mitsuhidé pounding the boiled rice, Hidéyoshi kneading the dough and preparing the cake, which Iyéyasu eats and enjoys. The Tokugawa crest, three asarum leaves within a circle, said to have been derived from a cake presented to an ancestor with decoration of this foliage, henceforth became to natives and foreigners alike a conspicuous object of art, adornment, and blazonry. It was even more familiar to the people than were the Imperial crests of three *kiri* leaves surmounted by the blossoms, and the sixteen petalled chrysanthemum.

Iyéyasu incarnated the spirit of his age in longing for peace. The Empire's "grand old man," he spent his later years in gathering books and manuscripts, in patronizing scholars, and in endowing institutions of learning, philosophy and Buddhism, thus ushering in the age of calm, which lasted for two hundred and fifty years.

Iyéyasu initiated a system of inclusion by which the people were shut up within. All seaworthy ships were destroyed, and the Japanese forbidden to go to other countries. Certain economic and social theories, coworking with a system of philosophy borrowed from Chinese representers of Confucius and enforced under penalties, were set forth as orthodoxy to rivet the iron bands of military compression. His immediate successors, especially Iyémitsu his

grandson, were even more rigid in executing the founder's policy. Buddhism was more or less patronized. The Portuguese and Spanish missionaries were expelled, foreign religions were put under ban, and only one loophole was allowed, at Nagasaki, where the Dutchmen, not considered to be "Christians," that is, political intermeddlers, were permitted, under rigid limitations, to trade.

Nevertheless Iyéyasu, in attempting to buttress his family line, to secure his succession and to "give peace to the Empire," by duarchy in government, ironhanded orthodoxy in philosophy and Buddhism in religion, planted acorns in a bottle. The researches of the native critical historians, the study of ancient history, the cultivation of the neo-Confucian philosophy, with the coming of the foreigners, combined to shatter his stately edifice. Even without Occidental onslaught, the Iyéyasuan system would have been doomed and made to fall before the twentieth century dawned.

Yedo gradually became a splendid city, and until 1868 was the real center of authority. It had already reached its full glory when Perry knocked at its door.

We may call this "the European period." Hitherto the civilization of Japan, derived from India and China, was more or less Hindoo (Buddhist), or Chinese (Confucian). From 1603 it was more strictly Japanese, for Nippon, though

steadily and continually influenced by Europe, through Holland and the Dutch of Déshima, was shut up from the outer world.

Fifteen Tokugawas held rule in Yedo, from 1604 to 1868, and during this period fourteen Mikados ruled, one of them twenty-five, another thirty-six, another twenty-nine years. One, Go-Midzuno-o (1612-1629) reached the advanced age of eighty-five. Two of the Mikados were Empresses, the political tools of Yedo.

The successors of Iyéyasu, especially his grandson, as we have seen, were strenuous in carrying out the founder's policy. The Shogun's procession to Kyoto, to offer homage to the Mikado, was discontinued and the Nijo castle garrison increased. In Court ritual the Shogun was the Mikado's ape. Throne, or dais, curtains, sword bearer, prostrations and etiquette in Yedo were but copies or reflections of those in Kyoto. In time public and abject homage, even to the spectacular tomfoolery and millinery, the ostentation of outward symbols, the compulsion of bowing, even to tea jars in process of transportation and the pasting up of windows, lest any should look down on Shogunal person or property, were exacted of both populace and gentry, until the blood of jealous or hostile vassals and reverencers of the Mikado boiled.

From the point of view of the fanatical Mikadoist Iyéyasu was a usurper, who robbed the

Emperor of his power in order to glorify his own name and family. The more judicial student sees, however, that the Tokugawa dynasty was democratic in its tendency.

The "legacy" of Iyéyasu, a document well worthy of study, teaches that "the people are the foundation of the Empire" and assures us of his purpose to "assist the people to give peace" to the country. In the provinces ruled by his kinsmen or descendants, as I saw in my travels in 1870 and later, the lot of the common people was notoriously better than in most of the other fiefs or districts. The fiercest diatribes against "democracy" and popular rights came later from Satsuma, the most determined foe of Tokugawa.

So perfect seemed the system, so apparently free from internal dangers and external perils and so apparently destined to last forever, that to the majority of the Japanese at the opening of the nineteenth century any suggestion of change seemed impiety or treason. Nevertheless, soon after alien influences began to work in Japan this duarchy went to pieces. It is now only historical, with scarce a perceptible trace, except as its old ideals sway some individual of ancient mind. The chief cause of overthrow lay in the study of the ancient Shinto religion and of the primitive Japanese language, begun by Mabuchi, who left office and emolument, for the lonely toil of the scholar, to usher in a glorious era.

Even the re-presentation of the ethics and philosophy of Confucius had a result the opposite of that looked for by the founder of Yedo. Like the other forms of intellectual labor, the study of philosophy tended to undermine a system of division and to concentrate loyalty in the Mikado's person as the center of government and religion. While politically the Bakufu or War Curtain Government fell asleep, the brain of the Japanese scholars was alert and sleepless.

Long before foreign influences became phenomenal in Japan, the field was ploughed ready for new seed and fresh growth. A small but ever increasing number of intelligent Japanese hungered for the science of the West. Making pilgrimages to Nagasaki, or meeting the Dutchmen in Yedo, or on their journeys to and from that city, their appetites were but whetted for greater knowledge. Each native student on his return home became a center of intelligence and of foreign culture.

Most of these passionate pilgrims southward were physicians. Indeed there are some who would date the renascence of Japan from the year 1776, when, as is supposed, for the first time in the Empire, a human cadaver was dissected, and the Chinese system of anatomy, hitherto dominant, was thus proved to be fanciful. Many a Vesalius before this time saw, but feared to tell the truth. Many scores of literary and political

inquirers mastered Dutch as the vehicle of knowledge. In this way they learned of the great world, especially of the West and its mighty forces.

Yet the idea of Imperial monarchy was but slowly reached and perhaps no prophet had the vision of a Japan wholly free from feudalism. The story of the mental development of Okubo, "the brain of the Revolution" of 1868, conclusively proves this, showing his roundabout path and the teaching of events. With Nariaki, lord of Satsuma, and other farseeing patriots, he studied possibilities, peered into the future, and was forward in the doctrines and hopes of the Mikado reverencing school of thinkers, who were all, of course, united in the purpose of destroying the work of Iyéyasu. Okubo's first plan, as a Unionist, in order to do away with the Yedo system and duarchy, was to unite the landless Court Nobles in Kyoto, with the Daimios or territorial barons, in the Government. Only by degrees did the vision of a supreme imperialism dawn on this superb intellect, while the abolition of feudalism, even as an idea, came only after foreigners had been long on the soil.

The final issue of the Revolution of 1868 was not only a woeful disappointment to the Samurai, and even to Okubo's coworkers, Saigo and others, but became a horrible and wholly unforeseen abyss. To put down the opposition, of those who

started the original movement of 1868 cost the Mikado the shedding of tenfold more of the blood of his subjects than the Revolution itself, with its battles and sieges.

These various influences, the revivals of native and Chinese learning, of pure Shinto, of the Confucian philosophy of Chu Hi (1130-1200), with the doctrines of the Chinese thinker Oyoméi (1472-1528), and the critical inquiries of the Historical School becoming more potent as knowledge increased, would in all probability, without foreign contact, making a new world of opinion, have ripened into action, even to the overthrow of the existing system and the creation of a new State.

Along with the researches of the Shintoists and the work of the Mito scholars, who produced a massive historical library, proceeded the private investigations into native history by such men as Rai Sanyo, who helped to create the political opinions of Japanese gentlemen in the nineteenth century. Added to these were the patriots who hated the Yedo tyranny and longed to find truth in the world at large. The story of these prisoners of the spirit, whose pinions of desire beat in vain against the bars of the gaol, is full of pathetic incident. A whole library in the vernacular has photographed the experiences of those who were the morning stars of the full day dawn of 1868.

Ever shining is the name of Yoshida Shoin,

who foresaw the day of Perry's coming, waited long, travelled much, and at risk of life mounted the deck of the American war steamer *Mississippi* at midnight, with his coat stuffed with materials for taking notes of what he should see in the countries of the great world outside. Arrested, imprisoned, but afterward released, be became the teacher of the Marquis Ito and Count Inouyé, two relentlessly aggressive prophets of the new dispensation in Japan.

Others hoped that Japan might become as England and have representative government, and more than one such prisoner of hope suffered incarceration or death, because of his opinions or acts. Even subterranean Christianity had its martyrs. A large and powerful party, both literary and theological, taught as the political ideal of the nation the restoration of the Mikado to the supreme authority which he had enjoyed seven centuries before, with Shinto as an engine of state. The members of the Satsuma, Choshiu, Tosa and other clans that had never been really conquered but had only yielded in compromise and were but nominally obedient to the Shogun greedily fed their minds upon this idea. Moreover each clansman found this pretext a most convenient mantle under which to hide his own personal ambitions and his yearnings for the supremacy of his own clan.

President Millard Fillmore's constructive

statesmanship on behalf of the United States and his interposition in the affairs of Japan saved the Empire from civil war. In 1852 everything seemed ready for an explosion from within, which might have so weakened resources as to cripple the nation for modern life, or called in foreign aggression, as in the case of Java, India and China. Okakura declares in his book "The Awakening of Japan" that "the immediate effect of the arrival of the American Embassy was to reconsolidate the fast waning power of the Tokugawa Government. Putting in abeyance all minor matters of of dispute, the entire nation looked to the Shogun, as the representative of all existing authority, to lead the forces of Japan against what was regarded as a Western invasion. Thus the Tokugawa Government got a new lease of life and its final overthrow was postponed fifteen years, during which ultra reformists were kept from running riot and the nation had a chance to prepare itself for the momentous change which was to come."

Failing however, to understand their position, the Tokugawa rulers were unable to retain their power. Throughout Japanese history the outer Ministry and the inner Household have often been in conflict. The strong and benign ruler is he who prefers "the discourse of sour visaged councillors," who represent "the united political wisdom of the country, through a long succession of

experiences," to the "sweet music of the court beauties." Happily in our day, and almost at the very hour in which President Fillmore ordered Commodore Perry to start, there was born one, even Mutsuhito who "confined himself exclusively to the first rôle."

CHAPTER VIII

ECHIZEN: THE FARSIGHTED REFORMER

Marquis Matsudaira Shungaku, who died in 1890, with the highest honors to which a subject could attain bestowed on him by the Emperor, was born of *Kugé* or Court ancestry, in Yedo, October 11, 1828. When ten years old he was adopted, according to the order of the Shogun, by Matsudaira, the Daimio of Echizen, part of whose name he took, and whose domains were assessed at 1,600,000 bushels of rice. The rank of this western province ruler and Castle Lord at the Yedo Court was Vice-General of the Left Guard, his feudal title being Echizen no Kami, or Lord of Echizen. Happily for the young nobleman, for Japan and for the world, he became, as he often signed himself, the pupil of Yokoi Héishiro, one of the prophets and martyrs who held the Oyoméi philosophy (Japanese "pragmatism") which helped so largely to make modern Japan.

In 1841, young as he was, Echizen began to reform the luxury and extravagance bred during the long peace. Having reinforced the coast guard, in 1842, he journeyed to Fukui, and lived

there, making the City of the Happy Well a model of good government and an educational center for the advancement of science morals and the manly arts of Bushido. Decreasing his own expenses, he lived frugally for the sake of inspiring example.

In 1848 cannon on Western models were cast at Fukui. Echizen sent some of young men to study medicine of the Dutch at Nagasaki, and, without ordering, advised European practice. To stay the ravages of smallpox he petitioned the Shogun to have general vaccination attempted throughout the country. Failing in this, in 1850 he opened at Fukui an office at which his own people could receive the pure vaccine virus. The next year he introduced the Dutch artillery, drill and infantry tactics. In 1852 he abolished archery, as the Samurai's accomplishment, and ordered rifle shooting at the butts.

In the same year, in anticipation of the coming of "the American barbarians," he was ordered by the Shogun to guard the water front of Yedo. In answer to a request for opinion in 1852 he opposed making a treaty as an inferior, and proposed to defend Japan against American aggression. He held to the same view on Perry's return, next year, for his idea was first to make the Empire so strong that Japan would not be obliged to submit to the dictation of any foreign Power. He ordered all his Samurai to cast aside spears,

arrows and armor, putting in their hands the improved Lebel firearms, made in the rifle factory established at Fukui. On May 2, 1855, he established the School of Enlightened Methods for the training of his young men in modern science and ordered all males in his fief over fifteen years old to be enrolled as soldiers. It was this school which, in 1871, I had the honor to transform into one with modern languages and science, and which is now the Fukui High School, which in 1914 had thirty teachers and six hundred pupils.

In 1856, finding that few had followed his advice, he made it mandatory on physicians in Echizen to begin the Dutch, that is, scientific medical practice. On May 6, 1857, a foreign literature training department, with a curriculum of study, with textbooks based on the Dutch model, was established. Not wishing the lads to spend all their time on booklore he added a school of military arts in which they received training in sword, spear, and gun exercise, horsemanship and jiu-jutsu, that is, weaponless craft, or the gentle art of self-defence. Himself the consummate white flower of Bushido, he would have his students to be manly and his military men stalwart, yet both to be gentle, learned and brave. It was in describing this gymnasium and noticing the distinction between jiu-jutsu and wrestling, that in 1876 I made the first reference in a Western language, I believe, to this art, now so well known.

As a practical reformer Shungaku underwent, unconsciously, self-development. He saw himself and his country in a new light. Consequently, when called to Yedo, December 21, 1858, to give his opinions concerning the Harris treaty, he declared himself in favor of foreign intercourse. He pleaded earnestly in behalf of trade, as the best means of making Japan strong, rich and able to defend herself. He urged the reformation of luxury, the improvement of the military system and the establishment of schools and colleges. In political reorganization he was a Unionist. He proposed the cooperation of Mikado and Shogun, in active administration.

Visiting the houses of the Premier Ii, in Yedo, he urged him not to dishonor the Mikado by signing, without Imperial consent, the Townsend Harris treaty. He warned him that if he did the Daimios would fall away from the Shogun and turn to the Mikado, a prophecy very quickly fulfilled. The question of an heir to the Shogunate was also a burning one. Instead of a minor, certain to be the tool of a regent, Echizen urged the nomination of Kéiki, popularly known as Hitotsubashi (First Bridge), a man of age, promise and ability.

The interview between Ii and the lords of Echizen, Owari, and Mito over the opening of the country was long and stormy. Finding himself thwarted, Ii resolved on arbitrary exercise of

power. Shortly after that these three great barons were ordered to domiciliary confinement. Echizen was compelled to vacate his office and hand his fief over to his adopted son, Mochiaki. He at once wrote to his people, explaining his conduct and motives, and advised them all to be loyal and obedient to their new lord. House imprisonment ended in October, 1860, but his disabilities were not wholly removed until June, 1862, when Ii was dead through assassination and the whole political situation had changed. The Emperor and Court, on reading Echizen's memorial, saw that he was the man for the hour and raised him to high honor. Herewith we give the text of his document in which he pleaded that Japan by the Harris treaty be opened to the world's commerce. It is one of many notable state papers of this era:

"Western foreigners of the present day differ widely from those of former times. They are more enlightened and liberal. But while other nations are united in the bonds of friendly intercourse Japan, standing apart in her solitude, has not known the changes of Heaven's course and has lost the friendship of the world. There is no greater shame to our country than this. Hence, to drive out the foreigners and shut up the country would be a positive evil. There are, moreover, five great continents, and even if all Japan were united in the attempt to expel foreigners, it

would be an unequal contest. Much more when the country is not of one mind, would Japan be shivered to pieces like a roof tile. Furthermore, treaties have been made, and if we should attempt the expulsion aforesaid, the most serious result that would follow would be our violation of the national good faith. The now talked of expulsion of foreigners is a scheme of those who do not know them, and our country would be ruined by it.

"Let us by commerce conform to the law of change in the world, and Japan will become rich. Besides, all this talk about expelling foreigners, closing the country and confining our attention to the protection of our seacoast is no way to promote the power and dignity of the Empire. Although there is so much said at the capital about driving out the barbarians, I cannot think the Emperor really reckons on success in the attempt. It would be impossible unless we navigate the seas.

"The so called 'corrupt religion' of the Western ocean is different from the Christianity of former times. Were Japan to adopt and practice it, I am of the opinion that no sects would arise to ruin or damage the country. This, however, would depend upon the character of our laws. If the people of Japan become assimilated to foreign nations, it must be because the government here is inferior to that of other lands.

"Let us take our stand by the side of the five countries, and like them build many large ships of war, erect forts here and there along our sea-coast, and let us inaugurate a flourishing commerce in our own vessels. Giving to other nations not articles useful to us but those we do not need, let us transport American merchandise to England and French goods to Russia, and selecting the best of these commodities for ourselves, while we carry on an exchange of products, we shall naturally become a rich and powerful country in the midst of the seas.

"When we have become strong enough to attack others, we shall have firmly established our own coast defences. As the power of the Empire becomes more and more confirmed, by means of long established friendly commerce with other nations, we cannot be overthrown or destroyed for ten thousand generations. Should another nation violate its good faith, the wrong would be its own, and we could at once destroy it. This were quite a different affair from the expulsion of foreigners at the present time. It would not make all the treaty Powers our enemies at one and the same time. Hence if one or two of them should act in bad faith, the enemy, being small, could easily be overthrown.

"While these things are so, the Imperial Government is not administered accordingly. It has but one aim. Hating the Western foreigners,

the Emperor regards them as brutes, and says 'Drive them out! Drive them out!' But, though he esteems them as brutes, they are nevertheless enlightened. At the present time they firmly maintain friendly relations with each other, and it is clear that it is a great mistake to confound ancient with modern times.

"From the beginning mankind in all parts of the world have not been unlike one another. If the views that prevail at the capital are sound, Oyoméi and Confucius were barbarians and ought for that reason have been swept away. . . .

"I present my remonstrances against the loss of virtue on the part of the Celestial Dynasty, and the Shogun's administration, whatever be the hazard of so doing, and though not heeded, I shall do so while living.

"This is a true representation of the opinions of one principality. I have not persuaded any other prince [baron] to adopt my views. But though one, two, or three other principalities have come to entertain the same, still the Imperial Government has always, even from the first, been desirous to expel the foreigners. Though I have made known my views, whenever I have been at the capital, yet the Imperial Government has not embraced them. And the foregoing are the opinions which one principality will hold till death.

"I had proposed to go to the capital, but as the Commander-in-Chief [the Shogun] has re-

turned thence, I could but present this memorial to his officers.

"The present prince [baron] of Echizen [Mochiaki] was about to go to Yedo, but is detained by a disease in his feet.* Moreover I do not know when I shall go up to the capital. If the Shogun says 'To-day,' I am ready to go to-day, or whenever it may please him.

"My retainers are all in readiness, and should there be any danger in the vicinity of the capital [Kyoto] I shall hasten to the ruts of His Imperial Majesty's chariot wheels, and therefore I present this memorial."

Again the pen proved mightier than the sword and honors were showered upon Echizen. He was made Sosai, or Supreme Administrator [of affairs in Yedo]. In an epochmaking speech before the Council of State he urged that arbitrary rule should be abolished and government be carried on according to public opinion; publicity instead of secrecy prevail; righteousness be made the basis of action, and the will of the Emperor and the nation be constantly consulted.

One of Echizen's first acts in Yedo was to release the Daimios from the yoke of centuries. Freed from the compulsion of being interned in Yedo, or of leaving their wives and children as hostages in the fortress city when they left it, the

* Probably akin to Yuan Shih Kai's "sore leg" in recent Chinese history.

barons flew like uncaged birds for home, and for Kyoto. Here began the rising wave of public opinion, for the feudal lords could now meet and hold council together.

Echizen's move, prompted by Satsuma, reversing the old precedent of division and separation, was the first practical step toward national unity. He struck the first effective blow for undoing the work of Iyéyasu.

Ordered into the Emperor Koméi's presence, for consultation, Echizen proved himself a modern man. Knowing the value of time, he went by steamer. The palace grandees, still shrouded in the dense fog of ignorance, wished to set a date to drive out the foreigners. Echizen, in a minority report, showed the impotence of the whole project, declaring that it could not be done. He urged his point before the Mikado, Koméi. If the expulsion policy were presed he would resign office.

Seeing the obstinate bigotry of the owls and bats then in control, Echizen departed from Kyoto in disgust and retired to Fukui.

For this breach of decorum, in leaving without Imperial permission, he was first ordered to house detention and then forgiven. On December 18, 1863, he was appointed a Palace Resident, and on the last day of the Japanese (Chinese) year was made Sanjo, or Counsellor, retaining the full favor and perfect trust of the Mikado. Later,

when the question arose as to the coercion of the Choshiu clan by the powers in Yedo, and during the negotiations leading to the abolition of the Shogunate, Echizen was in the Imperial Palace day and night. Explaining, answering a thousand questions, this great Mikadoist never rested until he saw all power centered in the Throne, and the unified nation peaceful under one head. His great hope was ever that this, with national unity, might be accomplished without war.

Of Yokoi, lecturer on the ethics and philosophy of Confucianism, spiritual teacher of Echizen, it is enough to say that he was, in influence over his chief, what Alexander Hamilton was to George Washington. Before sinking under the assassin's sword, in Kyoto, in 1869, Yokoi had, through the medium of a Chinese version of the Gospels, discovered the Samurai of the Ages. He saw Jesus in history, and, happily, apart from ecclesiastical dogma and tradition. With quick decision, he became at once His secret and unquailing follower. He predicted that the bright intellects of Japan would, when they knew him aright, accept the Christ. He sent his two nephews to America to study and be the pathfinders for a great host. These lads in 1866, I had the honor of teaching, at New Brunswick, New Jersey.

In the Council of the new Government at Kyoto, in 1869, Yokoi pleaded for and secured

not only freedom of conscience, but also the uplift of the *Eta,* or social outcasts to citizenship, as great a work, morally, as Lincoln's; and, like the American, he was assassinated for his pains. A noble record! At the promulgation of the Constitution, in 1889, Yokoi received posthumous honor from the Mikado, now called Emperor, as one of the Makers of the New Japan.

CHAPTER IX

KOMEI: THE LAST HERMIT MIKADO

While Japan's interior preparation, begun two centuries before the advent of Perry's squadron, went on, and events were ripening in the Far East, the people of the United States were being disciplined for the experiences of national expansion. The nation's growing pains, manifest in the Mexican war, followed by an accession of two million square miles of territory, including the Pacific Coast from Oregon to Old California, compelled outlook upon the greatest of oceans and concentrated American thought upon the old empires of Asia.

Many men and incidents led to the Japan Expedition of 1853; but while the direct initiative belongs to the Secretary of the Navy, William A. Graham, the largest measure of honor must be awarded to President Millard Fillmore. "History is a resurrection," and history will yet lift from the shadow the name and fame of one of the noblest of American Executives.

The story of Perry warms the popular imagination, but to Townsend Harris, the New York merchant and peaceful envoy, belongs the greater

credit of enticing Nippon the hermit into the world's market place. It was he who introduced within the gates an army of teachers of science and religion. After a year's hermitage at Shimoda, Harris entered Yedo in triumph, unarmed and without military or naval escort, to convert the sons of darkness into children of the new day. For four months, by sunlight and lamplight, he instructed the leading men of the hermit nation in the modern life of nations. He demanded a treaty of trade, residence and commerce, which should open five ports. The Japanese readily saw that what was given to one nation must be allowed to all.

Thus an entirely new element, and a very potent one, was injected into the politics of the Empire, tending at once to exalt the office and person of the Mikado: Townsend Harris is, in one sense, the maker of the modern Emperor of Japan. Perry's achievement alone would never have exalted so grandly the Mikado. With only two ports open, instead of five, and to sailors only, Japan might have gone on in her hermit life. But behind both Perry and Harris was the push of the whole Western world.

In Yedo, led by the farsighted, vigorous and unscrupulous Premier Ii, men knew that they could not resist the demands of the Western Powers. In Kyoto the men of the court held that the foreigners, being "barbarians," must at once

be driven out of the country. How dare they resist the Emperor? Let the Yedo Premier bind the imps as Watanabé bound to obedience the rebel thunder god. Old fairy tales have actually influenced politics in Japan and do, even yet.

The Mikado at this time, No. 122 in the line, was Osahito, posthumously named Koméi (father of Mutsuhito) who had begun to reign in March, 1846. Born in 1831, he was, at the time of the agitation in regard to the opening of the ports, hardly thirty years old. Having none but the traditional ideas about aliens, he was a bitter hater of them.

In its calmness and freedom from politics Kyoto had been like a desert. For over two centuries all authority had been centered in Yedo, but from the arrival of Harris the Blossom Capital became the place of storm, battle and fire. The historical research of scholars had so opened the eyes of thousands of able men that these now looked upon the Shogun as a usurper. Unable to get Imperial consent to the treaties, the Yedo regent, Ii, took the responsibility. On the deck of the American war steamer *Powhatan,* his agents signed the treaties and he then despatched an embassy to Washington. In true Japanese fashion, Ii was assassinated a few weeks later.

The Emperor Koméi having ordered the Shogun to expel the aliens, the foreign envoys in Yedo were surprised to find that the very powers that

had admitted them to the country were trying by every resource of diplomacy to get them to go out and stay away. The haters of the Shogun made use of incendiarism, assassination and every known method of violence, with the one purpose of drawing the lightning of the foreigner's vengeance upon the Yedo Government that had made the treaties. Some of the modern, later the Elder, Statesmen were busiest at this work in their youthful days.

Impatient at the delay in Yedo, and absence of any sign of obedience to the orders from Kyoto to drive out the strangers, the swordsmen of the great Choshiu clan, aflame with their new ideas of aggressive loyalty to the Mikado, took independent action. Professing to have received an explicit Imperial command, they raised a flag inscribed "in obedience to the Mikado's order." In 1863, having mounted heavy batteries on the bluffs commanding the narrow straits of Shimonoséki, they fired in succession upon and fought with the single ships of two nations, the United States and the Netherlands, and upon the doubled force of France. The following year, the combined squadrons of the four Powers—Great Britain having joined the others, and with the largest contingent of ships and men—destroyed the batteries and inflicted an indemnity of $3,000,000, to be paid by the Yedo Government. The latter then summoned its vassals, gathered

a miscellaneous army and attempted, against the protest of Echizen, to punish the Choshiu men. The Yedo army was thoroughly beaten in the campaign and the reputation of the Bakufu was now utterly ruined.

The last Mikado of Old Japan, Osahito, the 122nd Mikado, was the son of the Emperor Ninko, who ruled from 1817 to 1846, the Empress being Yasuko, of the Fujiwara family. Koméi, as his posthumous name is, was born, as we have seen, in 1831, became heir apparent in 1845 and succeeded to the Throne in March, 1846. The date named first belongs in the era of Heavenly Peace, 1830-1843, of which the big oval brass coin with a square hole, so well known abroad, is mnemonic.

During Koméi's reign there were no fewer than six chronological or year periods, formed after the analogy of the old Chinese calendar, the names being made by selecting two characters of the cycle of sixty years, literally "a cycle of Cathay," and joining them together. One of these periods, Genji, which lasted only from February 8, 1864, to December 29, 1864, is famous for a terrific battle in Kyoto, the Choshiu men making their first attempt, but not their last, to kidnap the Mikado, to possess the motor of government. The clansmen of Satsuma, Echizen and Aidzu resisted and the result was that Kyoto, as we shall see, nearly disappeared in the smoke

and flames of a war fire. In this episode Mutshito, then a boy of twelve, received his baptism of noise, if not of fire. The era of Genji began one of the cycles of sixty years ending in 1914, of which the present, in Chinese chronology, is the seventy-sixth, in order.

With January 25, 1868, began the era of Méiji, or Enlightened Rule or Government—the two words (*méi* and *ji*) occurring close together in a sentence from the Chinese classics. It was destined to be the most brilliant in all the annals of Japan, ending with the decease of Mutsuhito, or the Méiji Tenno, July 30, 1912. With the passing of Old Nippon disappeared also the confusing custom of making many short year periods, for the new law declared that henceforth there should be but one time name, or period to each reign.

Koméi died of smallpox on February 13, 1867, but in accordance with ancient custom it was not given out until later in the month that he was dead. Like the Kyoto Mikados, each Shogun in Yedo had two different deaths, one actual and the other official. It was thus literally true, among the Japanese, who are destitute of the Western sense of humor, that the official reports of the death of any one high in office were "greatly exaggerated."

This mummery and trifling with time and truth, which utterly discredits so much of Japa-

nese so-called history, is slowly but surely passing away, even though a lapse, concerning the dead Empress, again took place in 1914. The idea is thoroughly Asiatic, for although history is silent on the subject of King Solomon's decease, fanciful and fashionable Oriental legend, in the Koran, for example, declares that the announcement of his death was kept secret for a year.

On January 13, 1867, the heir apparent, Mutsuhito, who was the son of Koméi, by Madame Yoshiko, daughter of the Dainagon, or First Adviser of State, Nakayama, a lady of the Imperial Court, became Mikado, being the 123rd in the line, as an alien counts. He "ascended the throne" or was inaugurated, on October 12, 1868; that is, he was vested in due ceremony with the three divine regalia of sovereignty, mirror, sword, and crystal sphere. His name, meaning "affectionate and humane," may be literally rendered "Peaceful Gentleman." The word *hito* means man, but has hardly the force of the same term in English. "Hito" was part of the sire's name, just as the same syllables are in the present Emperor, Yoshihito's name. *Mutsu* is the root word, in the noble and endearing terms *mutsubi* (affection, intimacy, love, friendship), and *mutsuzoto* (the affectionate conversation as between husband and wife). But in spite of this peaceful cognomen Japan's greatest wars,

three of them on the continent of Asia, and one domestic rebellion, the most tremendous in her history, were to occur during his reign. Yet never, also, in all Japanese history, was there a man more worthy of his name or more truly a prince of peace. Opinions may differ as to Mutsuhito's personal abilities or the real part played by him in the making of the new nation; but of his winsome character and attractive humanity there can be among those who know but one judgment.

In old Japan, where the sense of personality was weak, a ruler's true name did not count for much in popular use. One's cognomen was usually employed in public only in a hostile or disrespectful sense, if at all. It was only the intending assassin who always wrote the name, but not usually the rank or office of his victim, in the self-justifying document which he carried on his person. Usually a man was spoken of by his official grade or profession. In all ordinary speech and in official documents the living name of the Emperor is avoided.

Possibly there are millions of Japanese who do not even know the Mikado's personal name. He is to them simply "the Emperor." His name, the real one, to us blunt Anglo-Saxon people, is in Japan his *imina,* or name not to be spoken and usually given at the age of fifteen. The ruler of Everlastingly Great Japan is expected to be

less a personality than a sacred figurehead. The crown which Japan's sovereign is yet to wear in honor, above all his predecessors, is the crown of personality, but all manhood in Japan must rise in spiritual worth before this dignity becomes that of the sovereign.

When Mutsuhito was born, November 3, 1852, the *Mississippi,* first national steam propelled man-of-war to circumnavigate the globe, was ready for her momentous voyage, bearing the letter of the President of the United States to the "Emperor of Japan." Commodore Perry and Mutsuhito: each the initiator of new lines of influence. Converging—to what end? Collision or coalition?

CHAPTER X

THE CHILDHOOD OF MUTSUHITO

The mother of the babe Mutsuhito was a lady of the Imperial Court belonging to the household of the Emperor Koméi. To guard against failure in the Imperial line, it was permitted to the Mikado to have twelve concubines, though the number was rarely filled. In the Méiji era the ladies selected from high noble families to be possible mothers of emperors were chosen by the Privy Council. In old days also the choice of the Mikado's consorts was an affair of state. Of one of these, the highly honored lady Nii no Tsuboné, the Méiji Emperor, was born. "Tsuboné," like "Mikado," signifies a place, rather than person, even the interior apartments of the Palace; and specifically chambers set apart for the particular person's own use. "Nii' is *ni,* two, and *"i,"* rank. In other words, the lady Tsuboné held the second rank at court, a very high one indeed for a woman, and next to that of the Empress. In every country in which polygamy and concubinage are institutions there is a rich vocabulary of terms by which the status of both is discriminated, and in Japan the *shofuku,* "born

of a concubine," and *jio-shi,* "true-born" (not adopted) are strictly and accurately used.

One sees, on the artistic postal cards of the Japan of to-day and the photographs and picture books published since the late Emperor's decease in 1912, abundant illustration of the natural surroundings of the Imperial infant with many of his toys. The visitor in Kyoto may look at the Imperial flower gardens, with their grand old trees, their flowers, rocks, mounds, ponds and streams of water, in which the life of the boy Emperor was spent, and amid which he grew up. The building and rooms in which babyhood and childhood were passed are also open to elect visitors.

From the point of view of one who takes his ideas of a "palace" from European precedents and models, everything about the abode of royalty in Japan of the old days suggests excessive, even austere plainness. Apart from the actual poverty in which regents and Shoguns kept their Imperial prisoner in Kyoto, it must be remembered that the simplicity of divinity marked the palace of the Emperor, because in reality this august edifice was a Miya, a shrine, the dwelling of a god, the temple of a Tenno, or Son of Heaven. Such austere plainness was purposely studied, in contrast with the splendor of Nijo Castle, which was the fortress of the Shogun's garrison. The majesty of the Throne

of straw was set over against the spectacular fierceness of the Camp. The Imperial seat, now a curiosity in the Tokyo museum, was a mat raised a few inches higher than the floor. The chill of winter was removed by braziers, from which glowing charcoal, laid on beds of fine white ashes, diffused a genial warmth. Silk, for covering the cushions were abundant, and in winter these were thickly padded with cotton. The food, besides being delicate, was most carefully prepared and ceremoniously served. For greater nicety in service, the kitchen attendants and waiters bound strips of paper over their mouths.

The Mikado was never allowed to set his foot upon the ground, and the heir apparent was usually carried from room to room. When he went beyond the Palace grounds, as might occasionally be the case, to see spring's cherry blossoms or autumn's polychrome foliage, he was shut within the vehicle from the gaze of any and all eager eyes, by thick curtains of split bamboo. These covered both the outside and inside of the windows of the equipage, which was a gorgeous black lacquered cart drawn by white bullocks.

In other words, the Mikado's life in the Palace was that of a puppet, the wires being held by others. Personality was reduced as nearly to an abstraction as possible, and individuality was extinguished. Did an Imperial princess sneeze, a maid polished her nose with a paper handker-

chief. Would she drink a cup of tea, then other hands lifted the beverage to her lips. Did the Mikado mount a horse, etiquette required that four men should assist him to the saddle.

On the gold paper screens of the artists of the Tosa school the life of the Emperor during the Kyoto era is brilliantly and accurately depicted. Here we see that His Majesty was sheltered from view, not only when on the throne, while his Ministers were in audience, but even when he enjoyed the classic opera and pantomime pieces called *No,* listening to the music of the Imperial musicians and watching the play of the actors and dancers. Curtains of fine bamboo threads hid "the dragon countenance" from either vulgar or noble eyes on other occasions. Even his highest Ministers, when with him, enjoying music, mimicry or dancing, must not turn their backs to the Son of Heaven; but, while ear and eye were delighted, only half the face was given to the actors.

Thus the Mikados of Japan droned away the days of the years of their lives. No doubt they had their enjoyments. In the artistic decorations of the august edifice, in the lovely freshness of the gardens, in the games and amusements which etiquette allowed to the inmates of the Palace and occupant of the throne, there was much to delight and make pass pleasantly the hours in the flower girt prison.

One might indeed make a great mistake in depreciating the value of those inner resources of delight which belong to every native of Japan by reason of his inheritance of a rich history and of a view of life which, through the cultivation of beauty and sentiment, yields constant and ennobling enjoyment. Even to his latest conscious hour, Mutsuhito took his pleasures in native style, preferring what was indigenous and delighting chiefly in what was free and open to every one of his subjects. It is also true that many of the youth of princely or Imperial blood were reared in almost Spartan severity and simplicity. Some of these have told me the story of their early days.

Yet, judging by the fact that from the very first moment of their freedom in modern days the princes of the blood and relatives of the Emperor have frequently and continuously travelled abroad in the great world, it is evident that, however refined the culture of the Palace occupants might be, theirs was a very narrow round of existence. Even yet it is an open question whether life, to a normal Japanese, equals in richness and depth that of the man reared in Christendom.

Not in his mind, but in his personal habits and round of life, Mutsuhito was and remained a Japanese of Old Japan. In his middle life at least he disliked travel, ignored his various coun-

try palaces, had no sympathy with those who must change residence in summer, took few or no holidays, and usually moved on journeys only through compulsion, or at least the constraint of his medical advisers. Happy for Japan, so straitened in her resources, that her great ruler lived the simple life! This was Mutsuhito's patriotism—to live a frugal and at times an abstemious life. Extravaganve at the court would have made the nation's victories in peace and war impossible.

The early life of the Méiji Tenno was very far from being that "sealed book" which is thought by some to be the true emblem of the existence of the Emperor of Japan. Special teachers were assigned to him, who were responsible for his education. He was very fond of geography and history, asking many questions about the countries of the strangers who were beginning to come to his father's dominions.

During most of his boyhood Mutsuhito was placed in charge of one of the noble families of the Court. He was far from being pampered, for his father gave orders that he should be brought up in hardihood and with plenty of outdoor exercise. This physical training was regular and moderately severe. Indeed, this fact explains his interest in manly sports, his own generally robust health, which he enjoyed during his later career, and his ability to withstand the

severe strain of forty-five years constant public service. Most of his time, after he was sixteen, was passed in sedentary occupations and in a series of daily details of duty, the routine of his life being only occasionally broken, while crises and dangers were many and frequent. He rarely took a formal vacation and was not notably patient with those who prolonged theirs.

For instruction in moral and political philosophy he was put under charge of the scholarly Nakamura, a master in the Confucian philosophy, especially as expounded and reshaped by Chu-Hi, in the twelfth century. This system had been formulated after China's disastrous experiment, continued during a generation or two, in populism or socialism. Chu-Hi's tenets formed the basis of the creed of most educated gentlemen of eastern Asia.

In after life it is known that Mutsuhito took a direct and personal interest in schools and education, visiting, advising, calling to his presence and questioning the officers charged with public instruction. Such interest arose from personal experience, for all his life the Méiji Mikado was a reader and student. Very much the same praise may be given to the Empress, so we know she spoke out of her own heart when she wrote the poem "Wisdom's Goal," for the maidens at the Peeress' School in Tokyo:

"The water placed in goblet, bowl or cup
Changes its form to its receptacle;
And so our plastic souls take various shapes
And characters of good or ill, to fit
The good or evil in the friends we choose.
Therefore be ever careful in your choice of friends,
And let your special love be given to those
Whose strength of character may prove the whip
That drives you ever to fair Wisdom's goal."

It was impossible to keep from the bright boy in the Palace a knowledge of the great events already happening "Within the Four Seas." Even when he was but five years old the American envoy, Mr. Townsend Harris, was in Yedo, demanding the Emperor's signature to the provisional treaty and threatening to go to Kyoto himself, unless the business was despatched. The calling of a great assembly of the Court Nobles, to debate before the Throne the question of opening the country to foreign residence and commerce, five years after Perry had secured for sailors the right of entrance for food and supplies, involved a social revolution. To admit the despised trader and moneymaker, who had then no standing in Japanese society, seemed impiety to the "gods" and the destruction of the whole fabric of order and decency. Osahito (Koméi) expressed his feelings in a verse:

"Perish my body 'neath the cold clear wave of some
dark well,
But let no foreign foot
Pollute the water with its presence here."

It was on April 19, 1857, that the Congress of eighty Court Nobles assembled before the Mikado Koméi and gave their views of the situation. It was comparatively easy for the men further east, in Yedo and nearer the aliens and their ships, to get at least some clear knowledge of the outside world. They knew too well the power and stern purposes of the Western nations. But in Kyoto it was scarcely possible for the palace hermits to gain any guiding light on this particular subject. These recluses were well versed in that consummate craft which springs only from intrigue and personal politics, while they were as yet children in their acquaintance with the movements of thought, the methods of procedure, and the tremendous power of the strangers. The most enlightened men of Japan were those who knew that the "barbarians" were strong at home.

The proposal to open social relations by means of a treaty was bitterly opposed, and every means was used to poison the Mikado Koméi's mind against the Harris treaty. Messengers moved to and fro between the City of the Throne and the City of the Camp. Spiritualism in Japan is a procedure of the Government, proposed as a political expedient by members of the Diet, even in 1914. So the great Iyéyasu, dead for two centuries, was consulted. This was done by taking a copy of the treaty and laying it on his tomb. No answer by rap, knock, whisper or

word is recorded. Mr. Harris vibrated between Shimoda and Yedo. The Shogun's envoy in Kyoto kept busy. Again the nobles laid their hostile views before the Emperor. American, British, Russian, and Dutch war-ships kept coming into Yedo Bay to press matters, yet the Mikado would not consent. What was to be done? Was Japan to go the way of Poland, Java, China or India? As Persia and Korea have since gone?

Taking the responsibility, Ii signed the provisional American treaty. When eight days afterward, this virtual defiance of his orders was announced to the Mikado, Koméi, "His Majesty was said to have been much enraged." He fasted six days; that is, he abstained from animal food and wine, and prayed to "the gods of the sixty provinces." This was because of the multiplying troubles introduced from foreign countries. Nevertheless the gods stirred not. Portents multiplied. The imported pestilence, "kurori," or cholera, swept off thousands of the people. A comet appeared in the western sky. Such signs of disturbed nature only added to the inveterate personal prejudices of the last of the sequestered Mikados. The Imperial heart was hardened against the aliens.

The regent Ii showed his power. Foreign ships coming more numerously, the merchants were notified that trade with the foreigners was

permitted at the treaty ports, but none must wear foreign clothes or hats. From the castle of Nijo in Kyoto the iron hand of the Yedo Premier was stretched forth to smite his opponents even unto death. Scores of patriotic partisans of the Emperor, and Jo-i, or foreign haters, were arrested in Kyoto and other places and clapped into prison. Among the righteous men compelled to die by their own hands, or decapitated, was Dr. Hashimoto Sanai, of Fukui, Echizen, "of Mazzini-like intellect," whose brother afterward, in Tokyo, became physician in the Imperial Palace. Sanai's posthumously published writings are notable.

In 1909, after fifty years of controversy and the persistent and hounding opposition of ultra-Mikadoists, who showed an excess of rancor over logic and far more fanaticism than understanding of history, a bronze statue of Premier Ii was reared at Yokohama. The pen of Shimada Saburo, in his book, translated by Henry Satoh, entitled "Agitated Japan," helped vastly in the good work of justly awarding honor.

CHAPTER XI

STEPS TOWARD NATIONAL UNITY

The clear headed alien, free from the folly and fanaticism of pseudo-Mikadoism, fearing not the taint of heresy of the Japanese variety, and who places the nation above its ruler, however august, discerns in Ii, the Yedo Premier, a man born for the hour. With all his limitations and mistakes, this man was the savior of Japan. Without him, Japan might have suffered vast humiliations akin to those of India and China.

While the Kyoto people were as ostriches, with heads buried in the midst of perils, the man in Yedo saw clearly what would ensue if the foreigners were defied. Apart from political necessity, Ii had no desire to humble the Imperial hermit or punish his advisers. When, on account of the troubles in the country, there was among these men, who dressed in silk and damask and were heaven high in pride, while yet beggarly in poverty, actual suffering for food and the comforts of life, the Yedo Government made an offering to the Mikado of 5,000 pieces of gold, while the Court Nobles received 20,000 rios (or taels), certain of them being elsewise specially

rewarded. In spite of this, however, the Premier Ii was set upon by assassins and slain in Yedo, March 24, 1860, though his death officially did not occur until May 20, and he was buried on May 30.

Following upon the murders by the *ronin* (or feudal retainers who had left the service of their masters), and the foreigners of all countries having taken up their residence in Yedo, the assassin's trade flourished and official steps were "taken to guard against mischief." The death of their chief represser had evidently encouraged the foreign haters at the Imperial Court, also, for on August 5 the Mikado issued a command that all the barbarians in the Holy Country should be expelled. Paper and ink for the making of Imperial fiats were cheap and proclamations numerous, but while this Kyoto industry was thriving, more ships from Europe and America kept coming.

In Yedo it was proposed that the young Shogun should marry an Imperial Princess, and Kadzu, younger sister of Mikado Koméi, was the one selected. A famous lady of the Shogun's house, well skilled in the ways of court craft and personal politics, named Aménokoji, was sent to Kyoto to arrange the match. The princess was to leave the Flowery City for the place of turmoil in the Far East, where strangers were daily increasing in numbers and insolence.

Now that Peking had been captured and China had been humbled by the earth hungry Europeans, who were likely to seize new land wherever they could, certain barons were put in charge of Yezo to guard and garrison it. Even the cold and bleak island of Saghalien was to be held against Russian aggression, which had been proceeding steadily during the century. It was also thought that greater care must be taken to protect Kyoto.

On the twenty-eighth day of the ninth month (November 10, 1860), the Japanese embassy having returned from America, the Imperial Prince Mutsuhito, now eight years old, was proclaimed heir and successor to the throne. The increasing importance of foreign affairs was recognized by the appointment of the able Daimio Ando, lord of Tsushima, as sole chief director. It was this feudal baron's island possessions that were, a few months later, occupied, and not without the shedding of blood, by the Russians. A monument was erected in 1905 in honor of the barrier guardsmen slain by the Czar's marines in 1860; and not many leagues from this spot, in 1905, also, Admiral Togo's cannon sank the Russian battleships, part of the Muscovite armada being fired on by the guns of the fort on the island, which had been stained by the defenders' blood in 1860. The Japanese of our day see poetic justice in this.

The authorities in Yedo were mightily pleased with the success of their matrimonial negotiations in Kyoto. They at once showed their appreciation by distributing 15,000 rios among the Court Nobles. There was delay in the marriage, but a few weeks later the rank of the bride-elect was raised from that of Miya, that is, simply daughter of the Emperor, to that of Nai-shin-no or Imperial Princess, and the marriage day fixed. The political meaning of this wedding, of the boy Shogun with the little girl from Kyoto, lay in the hoped for union of Mikado and Shogun in one government.

On the twentieth of the promised month, she set out from Kyoto, making in twenty-three days the journey by palanquin over the Eastern Sea Road, which would now be performed in less than one day by steam and rail. Arriving in Yedo, December 27, she was entertained at the residence of Lord Shimadzu. About a month later the bride-elect entered the castle, where on March 22, 1861, the marriage ceremony took place. The vast structure had been rebuilt after the fire, and operatic performances called *No* were enjoyed in honor of the re-erection. The princess was now styled Mi-dai, which was the honorable term applied to the wife of a Shogun. Born on June 4, 1846, in the same year with her husband, she was, when made a bride, but fourteen years old. No children were born of this

union, so the usual process of securing heirs was followed. By adoption Kéiki, the last Shogun, was her son, and by the same legal procedure Prince Iyésato, the present head of the Tokougawa family (1915), is her grandson. Short was her wedded life, for on September 19, 1866, at Osaka, her husband, not quite twenty years old, died.

All earthly glory being over for her, when so soon left a widow, she had her hair shaved off, took the vows of a Buddhist nun and lived the rest of her life in the nunnery, in which she died September 13, 1877. Her funeral formed one of the grandest civil, military and Buddhist pageants ever seen in the chief city of the nation. She came to Yedo in its feudal glory. She died in Tokyo, the Imperial capital.

The foreign haters and the patriots, as eager to destroy the Yedo system as to see the Mikado restored to sole authority, were not yet satisfied. Indeed they were very angry at the idea of the Emperor's sister being taken to Yedo to increase the prestige of "the Camp" and the "Curtain Government." Again the assassin's sword leaped from its sheath. On February 14, 1862, as the train of the Minister Ando, reputed to be favorable to foreigners, was approaching the castle in Yedo, a desperate band of eighteen men suddenly assaulted the procession with bullet and sword. In the fight a dozen men were left killed

or wounded on the ground. This street battle prefigured the civil war yet to come.

As usual, each of the assailants had on his person a written paper declaring his purpose to sacrifice his own life, in order to kill the "wicked traitor" for imprisoning loyal Court Nobles and for so far abusing the influence of the Yedo Government as to bring the Mikado's sister to Yedo, and, worst of all, because he had "commanded learned Japanese scholars to collect precedents for the deposition of the Emperor, his intention being to depose the Son of Heaven." The assailants were retainers of Hori, lord of Isé, who, some time before, after a violent discussion with the Minister Ando, on foreign matters, had committed hara-kiri. Here was Mikadoism incarnate, rampant and blood red! Yet hardly less amenable to reason and fact is the ink black fanaticism of the penmen of 1912, who in discussing Mikadoism, the relation of the Emperor to the State, fly in the face of history, while maligning their opponents.

Shortly after this bloody episode of 1862 the men of Satsuma, in the train of the famous Shimadzu Saburo, were met on their way to Yedo by a great band of *ronin,* or free lances, eager to drive out the foreigners from Japan. Their programme was to take by assault the castle of Osaka, and then burn that of Hikoné, the old home of the Premier Ii and of his successor, who

had the guardianship of Kyoto. After this they would march on Kyoto and slaughter the Shogun's garrison in the castle at Nijo. All obstacles being thus removed, they could enter the Palace, seize the divine person, give the color and prestige of law to their proceedings, carry the Son of Heaven in his Phoenix Car eastward over the mountains to Yedo, and sweep all foreigners before them. Here was Mikadoism and their duty, as the *ronin,* or masterless and lawless men, saw it.

It was no easy matter to handle such a body of determined fellows, but Shimadzu let them escort him as far as Fushimi. Though Kyoto was in frightful alarm about these "wave men," yet Shimadzu entered the capital, calmed the *ronin* and then marched to Yedo. While there the heads of the two clans, Choshiu and Satsuma, rivals for centuries, became friends.

This action was prophetic of the future unity of a Japan long divided by feudal jealousies. The Satsuma men excelled in military, the Choshiu in civil virtues. Most of the great commanders on sea and land, within the last fifty years, have been from the more southern, nearly all the eminent statesmen from the more western community. The happy union of these talents, like wings, equal in power yet different, has enabled triumphant Nippon to win her place among the nations.

Nevertheless, the Lord of Satsuma was not happy. Both his request to be allowed to return home by steamer, and, as it is said, audience of the Shogun had been refused, the proud Daimio being referred to subordinate councillors: "Yedo tyranny" again!

On September 14 Shimadzu left the eastern city, resolved on bringing the Shogun into trouble with the foreigners, so as to weaken the power of Yedo.

As his proud knights rode along the high road they came into collision with four English people who were destined to learn how different "these people" were from the peaceful Chinese. The latter usually made no resistance to the strangers from Europe, who were accustomed to use their walking sticks on the heads of common folks. Again the sword left its scabbard, and Mr. Richardson was killed.

Instead of the Shogun's being embroiled with foreigners the blame was laid wholly upon Satsuma. A British squadron bombarded Kagoshima, August 15, 1863, and the clansmen had to pay an indemnity of $100,000.

Nevertheless the clan won revenge and recouped itself by a clever stroke of statecraft. Under their dictation the lord of Echizen, as we have seen, abolished the custom of the Daimios' forced residence in Yedo. This action had the effect of gathering the feudal barons and their

retainers at Kyoto, the Imperial city becoming the center of political activity. For the first time in over two hundred years, the Shogun made a journey to Kyoto, doing homage and receiving orders from the Emperor Koméi. The tide of Mikadoism was rising to flood.

CHAPTER XII

ATTEMPT TO KIDNAP THE MIKADO

Because the British warships had sailed away from Kagoshima the Mikado Koméi, interpreting the issue as a victory, promulgated an edict expressing his admiration of Satsuma's bravery, and ordered his envoy to demand once more from the Yedo authorities the expulsion of the foreigners. In fact, His Imperial Majesty had presented the Shogun with a sword for his appointed task.

As matter of simple fact, that bombardment was a powerful factor in the education of the proudest of the Japanese clans. It led to great searchings of heart and resolves to enter on a new path. From this date the Satsuma men ceased their opposition to strangers and resolved rather to borrow their power. They at once began the introduction of mills, foundries, schools and dispensaries. Their experiences had made them ready also to drop their jealousies and sectionalism, and enter upon union with other clans to secure a common result.

His Majesty Koméi held a great review of his drilled troops near the Sun Gate in Kyoto and

announced that he should proceed to Yumoto to worship at the shrine of Jimmu Tenno. After this he should hold, on Mount Kasuga, a grand council of war and then proceed in person to the punishment of Choshiu.

This last resolve was taken because there was a band of Choshiu men then in Kyoto, who had come to kidnap the Emperor, so that they could issue laws and carry out their wishes in the Imperial name. This Choshiu scheme was nothing else than a political form, in military force, of the old trick of "god possessed" village fishermen bearing the shrine of deity, and on the anniversary festival incarnating his "Rough Spirit" by smashing the shops and dwellings of unpopular and sinful men who had offended the community.

Immediately there was great excitement. The gates of the Palace were shut and the Choshiu men forbidden to remain in the capital. The southerners took the hint and made hasty exit. Prince Sanjo and six other Court Nobles, favorable to Choshiu, also retired to the south. These seven dignitaries were officially deprived of their offices and titles.

Quiet had not yet returned to Japan. The annals relate that the runaways of many clans, from all over the country, men who had left the service of their former lords, were active not only in preying upon merchants and farmers to get means of support, but also in taking off the heads

of the shop keepers who traded in foreign goods and of persons who were politically obnoxious.

It is a monotonous story, of this and that man having his head sheared off and stuck on a pole, or a pillory, though more usually upon one of the city gates. Scores of skulls, removed from their trunks by the sword, decorated the tiled roofs of these *go-mon,* or the walls adjoining. Not a few houses or temples were burned, in which dwelt or lodged those who were in favor of foreign intercourse. In every case, when the ruffians could not at once reach their victims, they gave them notice that they were marked for the "vengeance of Heaven," the murderers considering themselves "the divine instruments of justice." This was the rougher side of Bushido. One is quite able to understand events in the modern history of Korea and China, who studies the details of this era in Japan.

In a land which has no newspapers or ballots, but only the despotism either of monarchs, oligarchs or mobs, the sword is the time honored instrument in securing unanimity of opinion in propagation of dogma. By removing their heads, the criticism of opposers ceased. The wearers of the sword (*katana*) became the brothers of the assassins and incendiaries, who were, at this time, the real governors of Japan. Bushido was being illustrated in sinister fashion. The *ronin* is the intermediate figure between Japan's deca-

dent feudalism and constitutional government.

The two sworded men seemed to have reverted to the old headhunting customs of their Malay ancestors, and to the practice of filling the skull shelf, which is still common among their distant kinsmen, the copper colored aborigines of Formosa, whom in 1915 they are still fighting. In some cases the *ronin* contented themselves with chopping off with their swords the wooden heads from the images of famous usurpers who in times past had curtailed or compromised the Mikado's authority. In one instance they entered a temple in Kyoto, and with their swords changed a row of seven lacquered statues of the Ashikaga regents, who had ruled from A.D. 1219 to 1333, into as many torsos. Echizen, the military governor of Kyoto, took vigorous measures of repression. Such a cult of symbolism was not to be encouraged, but it spread, and Japan added one more variety in religion to her rich assortment.

It is to be noticed, in all this agitation against the foreigners and their ways and works, that there was never, as has been so often the case in old China, such a thing as a popular outbreak or uprising, for the people had no real objection to the nation's guests, or to their trade, which was much desired. Acts of violence issued only from a minority within the body of Samurai or gentry, mostly *ronin*. These ferocious and morbidly egotistic exemplars of Bushido, or Japanese

knightly culture and morality, believed they were doing Heaven, earth, and common man service by turning themselves into assassins and incendiaries. One can see amid what excitements, in the palace as well as without, Mutsuhito grew up.

As we have seen, the result of Satsuma's attempt to measure forces with foreigners was that they come to believe as Echizen did. Indeed, they were soon found to be the nation's leaders in the making of intelligent public opinion. It was manifestly useless to waste resources in attacking the aliens directly. They perceived that, in some manner, the power of the whole nation must be concentrated. At Kyoto, to which the Shogun had again come, the Satsuma men, persuaded by Echizen, were found urging the Court to reestablish the Tokugawa family in power, giving it the direction of the national policy. Kyoto was to remain the center of authority, the Shoguns receiving the imperial investiture in succession to their office. The barons were to lend all aid in supporting the Mikado and Court, while the nine gates of the Imperial Palace were to be guarded by the Shogun's most loyal vassals.

This decision of Satsuma was not understood by the Choshiu men, and it made them intensely indignant. Their rivalry and quarrels broke out afresh and Choshiu became, from the hostile point of view, the resort of runaways from all parts of the Empire. In the eyes of others, it was seen

that the ablest and most ambitious young men, the men of to-morrow, sought this province as that from which the future was to be dictated.

Again their plot was attempted. Hundreds of regular and irregular troops marched up from Choshiu to Kyoto. On August 20, 1864, they endeavored to seize the Mikado's person by making a rush upon the gates of the Imperial Palace, then guarded by the clansmen of Fukui, Echizen. The kidnappers hoped to capture the Son of Heaven, and carry out their wishes through him. The onset was made in two divisions, numbering in all about a thousand men. The battle was now "at the base of the chariot," even on the Mikado's doorstep.

The first onslaught was successful. In wild flight the forces then commanded by Kéiki, who afterward became Shogun, were driven away, when suddenly three hundred Satsuma men, making a flank attack with field pieces, drove back the assailants. The other division, at first winning easy victory, was later repulsed. Bullets flew in showers in and about the Imperial Palace, and Mutsuhito, the future Emperor, learned what war is.

The heaviest fighting took place when, after the Echizen and Kuwana forces had been repulsed, the lord of Hikoné came up with large reinforcements. Then the loyal troops re-formed, charged in mighty mass and routed the Choshiu

men. Fire breaking out, and the cannonade being kept up to hinder the wouldbe kidnappers of the Mikado from hiding, a large part of the city was destroyed.

I heard the story of this battle from the lips of Echizen men, who took part in defending the Palace.

The beaten southerners, not discouraged, gathered to renew the conflict, waiting only for the arrival of their lord from Choshiu to begin again. He, however, on reaching Kyoto, having learned of the bombardment of Shimonoséki on September 4, 1864, by seventeen vessels of the allied fleets of four nations, Great Britain, France, Holland and the United States, discouraged any further military operations. Despite the protests of Ito and Inouyé, just returned from Europe, the Choshiu men had encouraged hostilities and had fought the allies' fleet.

Mutsuhito now looked upon the Blossom Capital, thus turned into a battle field. It presented an awful scene of ruin and desolation, when the smoke of the war fires cleared away. Over eighteen palaces of nobles, forty-four of the great caravanseries of the Daimios, and 27,000 houses were burned. Sixty Shinto shrines, 115 Buddhist temples, forty bridges, three theatres, besides the habitations of the common people, and a village of *Eta,* or pariahs, were destroyed.

Thus in a circle of blood and fire did the Palace boy, the future Emperor, Mutsuhito, receive his baptism.

Turning to the southwest, the other focus of disturbance, at Shimonoséki, we find that the Choshiu clansmen, having measured their resources against the outside world in naval war, had the same experiences as Satsuma. The sound thrashing which they received taught them the folly of fractions fighting wholes. They now saw themselves in the light of the old Chinese story of the swarm of bees trying to sting the tortoise through its armor. Yet to show the world that they were really aiming at the Shogun and the Yedo usurpation, rather than at the foreigners, the intelligent leaders of the great clan wished, even when beaten, to open the city of Shimonoséki to foreign commerce. The Choshiu men even proposed to send independent envoys to England to effect their object. This they could not do, for the Shogun's Government preferred to pay the heavy indemnity of $3,000,000 rather than open more ports.

The Yedo bureaucrats took their medicine calmly. The heavy indemnity was intended to be extortionate, so as to compel the Shogun to yield to the demands of commerce and open new ports. The instalment of 500,000 Mexican dollars was paid September 1, 1865, bringing the treasury in Yedo to almost a state of emptiness and compelling the issue of paper money.

Hitherto the great Choshiu clan had been divided into factions, of which one was called the Vulgar View Party. The other had taken no part in the attack on the capital. Besides two wars, one with the aliens at the straits and another with fellow countrymen at the capital, there was civil strife at home. This threefold waste, draining the clan's resources, would soon exhaust its vitality, unless unity should be gained. Such a desideratum was destined to come through Saigo, a man of genius in the Satsuma clan, and, in this irenic enterprise, most probably inspired by Okubo. He proposed a method by which these two great principalities were hereafter to bury all enmity and unite in one purpose, to return to the ancient, unique rule of the Mikado. This grand idea required not merely a change of the mats only, but of floor and foundations. Saigo, expressing the thoughts of many hearts, was both prophet and statesman. Mikadoism healed the old wounds.

In July, 1865, the Shogun being in Kyoto, the foreign representatives, with nine ships of war, came to Hiogo to discuss the opening, of both that port and the nighboring city of Osaka, and also the Imperial assent to the treaties permitting this action. The delay at Court was so very exasperating that Kéiki, the Shogun's guardian, threatened to resign. Komei had given his consent, but the Court Nobles raised such a tumult

that he withdrew his approval. At last, after an all night's session of July 22, the opposition of the leading men in Kyoto was withdrawn, and the Emperor re-asserted his decision, on condition that Hiogo, which was so near to Kyoto, should not be made a port of commerce. One high native officer declared that Komei "would rather that the whole of Japan had been burned to a cinder, than that it should be opened to the outer barbarians."

Meanwhile the Yedo army, made up of nearly all the supposedly loyal clans, except Satsuma, had, against the earnest protest of Echizen, now Palace Resident and Imperial Councillor, been sent to punish the Choshiu men. Nevertheless the Yedo soldiers, laced in armor and armed with spears and swords, could not contend with men in light short sleeved garments, drilled in Western style, and armed with American rifles. After several defeats in pitched battles the prestige of the Tokugawa family was ruined, and the Yedo treasury nearly emptied.

The Shogun Iyémochi died at the age of twenty, on September 19, 1866, though according to the old precedents his decease was not announced until some time later. His young widow, of Imperial blood, as we have seen, shaved her hair and became a Buddhist nun. Her adopted son Kéiki was made Shogun on January 6, 1867. He did not wish to accept the

office, for he felt that it was of very brief tenure and that its days were numbered. Many of his chief followers however hoped that even though monarchy should be established the Tokugawa family, because of its immense revenues and numerous vassals, might, with foreign commerce to enrich its coffers, have even more power than before.

Far differently did the clans of the southwest think on this subject. They formed a combination, which Echizen joined, to bring about the headship, not of any one clan or group of clans, but of one strong Government, for they were determined to have nothing less than an Emperor who should not only reign but govern. Their idea of Mikadoism was the true one.

The active men in the new coalition were Samurai, not of high rank, but thoughtful and well read, withal full of fire and energy and well inoculated with Western ideas. For allies they had a small party among the Court Nobles, and a very few conspicuous men of ability and personal importance, Echizen being perhaps the leader in constructive statesmanship among that crowd of Daimios who were mere figureheads. In fact, the men who now prepared finally to achieve the *coup d'etat,* which made a new Government and nation, even the new Japan of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, numbered all told but fifty-five, their average age being thirty. Of

these five, Okubo, Iwakura, Sanjo, Kido and Saigo, were the conspicuous leaders. I knew them all in the Japan of 1870-1874.

These progressive men were disappointed and indignant at Kéiki's receiving the office of Shogun, because, having powers like his predecessors', he could treat the landed nobility as if they were his own vassals, and not as advisers of the Emperor.

They clamored for the opening of Hiogo and Osaka, yet not as mere marts of trade and not for the benefit of the "ring" in Yedo, but in the interests of the whole country. In the splendid game, whose prize was the possession of the "living god of the Japanese nation," both bands of hunters coquetted with the foreign envoys.

Three parties were forming, Federalists, Unionists, and Imperialists. Each party was informed chiefly by the culture, the ideas of philosophy and the politics derived from the Chinese classics, or the later thinkers of China.

The Federalists, at first led by Satsuma and including *kugé, ronin,* and Shinto zealots, united in hating the foreigners, less on account of these being aliens than because the Yedo Premier, Ii had signed treaties with them against the Mikado's wishes. They wanted a Government on the model of Hidéyoshi's council of Daimios; Mikado, Shogun, and feudal lords sharing the power.

The Unionists were mostly enlightened and brave young Samurai, with some taste of European culture. They had before them the vision of a State much like that in the golden age of ancient China, where all men had equal opportunity, and in which popular opinion ruled through representative government. They were inspired by the Oyoméian philosophy, in which right thought and right action quickly joined hands.

The Imperialists aimed at monarchy and labored for the supremacy of the Mikado, with a bureaucracy as it existed previous to feudalism. This meant, ultimately, the abolition of both the Shogun and the Daimios.

In the order of time the Federalists were first. It was they who in 1862, after the death of Ii, reformed the Government and made Echizen Premier in Yedo and Aidzu the lord of Nijo Castle in Kyoto. This party soon broke down, through complications domestic and foreign, and the Imperialists rose to power, Choshiu even defying the Shogun and firing on foreign ships. Then the Federalists reunited, but when Owari and Echizen dealt lightly with Choshiu, Aidzu protested, became rampant, and proceeded to invade Choshiu, the Shogun leading in person. As this, if successful, would rehabilitate the Tokugawa and give the Shogunate greater power and a fresh lease of life, a combination of able clan

leaders hostile to the policy of chastisement was formed, and thus a new party, the Unionist, came into being. It was now a struggle between Unionist and Federal. When the Yedo army was beaten the prestige of the Federals had departed, and the Unionists, now thoroughly infected by Katsu, Ito and other students returned from foreign countries were, for the most part, transformed by the logic of events into Imperialists. The Unionists accomplished little, and the Federalists less, the Imperialists coming out victors.

CHAPTER XIII

THE MIKADO BECOMES EMPEROR

In this state of affairs smallpox seized the Emperor, Osahito, whom we know by his posthumous name, Koméi. In fourteen days he was dead. He had ruled twenty years, from 1847. He was the last of the line of Palace prisoners, that is, of Emperors virtually shut up in a box and treated as idols, with superstitious and often very malign reverence. In history, though through ignorance Koméi disliked, even hated foreigners, he stands as the promotor of the Restoration and of national unity.

The official and announced death was on February 3, 1867. The real event took place, perhaps, on January 30. His son, Mutsuhito, on February 13, 1866, became Mikado, or, as later styled, Emperor. By the reckoning of exact mathematics, he was fourteen years and eighty-eight days old when his father died, but by Japanese use of language was sixteen. It often stirs the risibilities of foreign physicians to see babies born, it may be, only an hour or two before January 1 greeted as "two days old."

On account of the youth of the new ruler, it

became necessary to choose a regent, the Junior Prime Minister of the Left, one Nariaki. The hopes of Kéiki rose, because a majority of the Court Nobles were his partisans. Now, he thought, instead of having to deal with a Mikado born in the old days of seclusion, with hereditary and lifelong prejudices against the Western barbarians, here was a lad, reared since Perry's arrival, who knew at least a little about foreign nations.

According to his agreement the Shogun met the foreign Ministers in Osaka. Sites for the foreign settlement at Hiogo and Osaka were fixed upon, and this covenant was approved by the Court in Kyoto. It was too late, however, for Kéiki to bring into play his really great abilities, for the Unionist party was definitely formed and had both a programme and force to carry it out.

In October, 1867, the ex-Prince of Tosa wrote a letter to Kéiki, advising him to resign and restore the whole power to the Emperor. In his view, the cause of the troubles was "that the administration proceeds from two centers, because the Empire's eyes and ears are turned in two different directions. The march of events has brought about a revolution and the old system can no longer be obstinately persevered in. You should restore the governing power into the hands of the sovereign and so lay a foundation on

which Japan may take its stand as the equal of all other countries." Long before this, as we have seen, Echizen, the relative of Tokugawa, published a manifesto fully as liberal in its foresight and demands. The hammer blow of Tosa on the iron driven by Echizen, when the steel bar of critical opportunity was beneath, turned the nail into a rivet.

Kéiki, under the impression that the feudal barons would be called to Kyoto to deliberate upon the basis of a new Constitution, on November 3, 1867,* placed his resignation in the hands of the Emperor, who, after accepting it, summoned the feudatories at Kyoto to meet on December 15. Meanwhile Echizen, now the Great Counsellor, was in the Palace night and day, seeking to reconcile all parties, explaining, persuading, hoping, and fully expecting to avert bloodshed and secure a modern government, with the Emperor as supreme head.

The war spirit was too hot. Instead of a council there was a host of armed men from the clans of Satsuma, Tosa, Owari, Echizen, and Aki, whose leaders, knowing exactly what they wanted, soon showed their hand.

Perhaps the precise date on which modern

* See "Japanese Government Documents" (from November 3, 1867, to the end of Méiji era) edited with an introduction by W. W. McLaren, Ph.D., in Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. XLII, Part I, pp. Ci-681, containing those of the first half of the era of Méiji, published in 1914.

Japan's internal history opened may be named as January 3, 1868. At noon, by order of the Court, the combination seized the nine gates and thus gained control of the Imperial Palace and Person. Dismissing the Regent, Nariaki, who was a partisan of Kéiki, they also forbade the court Nobles, hitherto in the Emperor's confidence, to come near. Then they surrounded His Majesty with those who were in accord with their own ideas. They had now the Mikado, Mutsuhito, the holy oracle, in their power, and through him could utter their convictions in law, for they were "the Court." Within twenty-four hours they made the boy Emperor proclaim a new order of things. The office of Shogun and the Yedo Government were abolished, and a provisional system, with three grades of officers, was arranged for. Their authorization was thus expressed: "It is the Emperor's decree," etc.

Instead of accepting this as "the Restoration" Kéiki denounced it as revolution. His clamorous followers, especially those of Aidzu, commandant of Nijo Castle, who had been in command of the palace gates so long, and who hated the Choshiu men, were also allowed to express their views. Keiki, in a memorial to the Court, announced that he should act upon the previous order and declared that everything should be determined by a council of barons. On January 6, under the plea of calming the passions of his adherents, and

hoping for union among them, he left Kyoto with his great following, and in Osaka, protesting to the foreign Ministers against the revolutionary proceedings, as criminal, declared his resolve to "carry out the instructions left by the late Emperor."

Kéiki was too late. It was time to let the dead past bury its dead. The enlightened living, and not the men in their graves, now ruled in the councils of Japan. Rather, since the dead were still potent to decree, the deceased Emperor had new interpreters.

Two envoys from the capital, Owari and Echizen, came to Osaka and invited their relative, Kéiki, to accept the office of Gijo, or Emperor's servant of the second rank. They urged him to bring his influence and resources to the support of the new Government, dismiss all feelings of resentment and return with only a small escort, offering, as his kinsmen, to protect him with their own troops, if disturbed about his personal safety.

Kéiki agreed, and Echizen was happy. Yet when new advisers came the ex-Shogun changed his mind, yielding to the demands of Aidzu and Kuwana, and his hot headed retainers, to march back to Kyoto. With his army he would "remove from the Emperor his bad counsellors and try the issue with them by the sword." This was nothing less than a declaration of war.

On January 27 the battle opened between the "divine" and the "human," the Government and the *chotéki* (traitors); the "loyal" army and the "rebels." It lasted three days. It was a running fight in the towns and villages on either side of the Yodo river. Two thousand riflemen and artillerists, with arms and tactics in modern style, directed by Saigo opposed ten thousand men cased in helmets and armor and equipped, for the most part, with arrow, sword, and spear. The attacking party of "rebels" advancing over narrow roads or causeways among rice fields, and strung out in long narrow lines, without any possibility of making evolutions, except at the risk of sinking into the mire to their knees, were easy prey for men lightly dressed, expert with American rifles, and able to move easily. Hidden, or skirmishing in bamboo thickets, the modern warriors, drilled by General Omura, were well provided with cannon favorably posted. In such a case superiority of numbers was a detriment rather than an advantage. The battle was not to numbers or valor, but to brain and science.

The fifteen hundred Imperialists actually engaged and chiefly Satsuma and Choshiu men well practiced in flank attacks, won a decisive victory. The rebels were pursued all the way to Osaka, from which city the foreign Ministers had to withdraw, for the old Government could not protect them. Kéiki, with a few of his loyal retainers,

left the castle early in the morning and crossing the dangerous bar, on which the American Rear Admiral Bell was afterward drowned, found temporary refuge on board the United States steamship *Iroquois.* Soon afterward, on his own steam corvette, he left for Yedo. The great castle of Osaka, built by Hidéyoshi, with wall stones larger than any in the pyramids of Egypt, was burned on the same day.

On February 8, the young Emperor, now sixteen, or in Japanese reckoning, eighteen years old, in celebrating his majority, declared an amnesty to pardoned criminals, promising that all would be considered loyal subjects, except those actually in rebellion, and threatening severe punishments against every one who remained in open hostility.

For the first time in history a Mikado, Mutsuhito, wrote out his full name on a public document, written in letters of unusual size, and this he did alongside "The Seal of Great Japan." This was a notification that he had resumed the governing power and that the title of "Emperor" should be substituted in all the treaty documents for the sign manual of the Shogun. Henceforth in this work we use the term as applied to Mutsushito and the reigning Mikado-Emperor.

Mutsuhito sent this imposing paper on February 7 by a special envoy, Higashi Kuzé, who went to Hiogo to meet the foreign Ministers.

This dignitary arrived in the nick of time, because on February 4 a party of the proud soldiers of the Daimio of Bizen, eager to use their new war tools, had foolishly, with slight provocation, shed foreign blood on the main street of Kobé. After leaving Osaka the foreign Ministers had come to the newly laid out settlement of Kobé, where various people from America and Europe were waiting for business to open on the new site. As there was no Government there was no one to restrain possible outrages.

The baron of Bizen, with his train, was passing through the foreign quarter. As usual, a native herald went ahead of the procession shouting to the crowd, "Down on your knees!" The foreigners, however, remained standing. The haughty Samurai were irritated. A Frenchman happening to come out and walk alongside of the Bizen troops, a misunderstanding ensued, and a native officer gave the order to fire. The soldiers began blazing away at all strangers, among whom were several men of high rank and station. The clansmen had repeating rifles, but the sights were set too high, and the bullets flew over the foreigners' heads. A sailor boy from the United States man-of-war *Oneida,* the ship which was afterward sunk by accidental collision in Yokohama harbor, was wounded. The unarmed spectators quickly disappeared, and, there being no one else to fire at, the Bizen men marched on.

The guards of three legations were at once ordered out, but no enemy was in view. Besides seizing the five steamers belonging to different Daimios, marines and sailors were landed and they protected the settlement until a body of Satsuma troops arrived to keep order.

This Kobé episode at once put the reality of Imperial power to proof, for it affected not Bizen only but all Japan, and the new Government must take the responsibility. Instead of demanding apology from the Daimio, the foreign envoys pressed the matter upon the new Government in Kyoto.

Happily the young Emperor was reasonably advised. At his call the offenders were instantly surrendered. A new thing had happened under the Japanese sun. Instead of the old excuses and delays, here was promptness in business. Daté, the old Daimio of Uwajima, came to Hiogo and offered an apology in writing from the Mikado himself. The officer who gave the order to fire was to commit *hara-kiri* in presence of witnesses.

The Emperor, assuming the treatymaking power, appointed an Imperial Prince Minister of Foreign Affairs and published, February 14, a proclamation. It was saturated with the spirit of Japanese theology, and showing the real or reputed rule of the dead, concerning the treaties. The whole cast of thought and form of language is Chinese:

"Since the time that the late Emperor occupied himself seriously with foreign affairs, the Bakufu, by a long series of errors, has brought us to the present state and the country has undergone a great change, which has indeed come about unavoidably.

"It has been definitely resolved, after Court Council, to have treaties of amity [with foreign Powers]. The Imperial will is, therefore, that high and low join in unison and abstain from doubting [feel at ease in their minds] that our defences be made so thorough that the national glory may shine abroad amongst all nations, and that the spirit of the late Emperor be satisfied."

CHAPTER XIV

THE CHARTER OATH OF 1868

On February 16, 1868, the young Emperor heard of two English gentlemen in his capital, Dr. Willis, surgeon of the British Legation, and the student-interpreter, Mr. Ernest Satow, later Great Britain's plenipotentiary in Japan and in China, and member of the Privy Council. It was the first time since the sixteenth century, when St. Francis Xavier had come to the sacred city, at that time ravaged and desolated by civil war, that foreigners had been welcomed in Kyoto. Dutchmen had passed near or through, but had made no stay. Both gentlemen were well treated, for Dr. Willis had come to dress the wounds of the loyal soldiers. In fact, he attended alike to friend and foe.

The barons of Echizen, Tosa, Satsuma, Choshiu and Aki sent in a memorial acknowledging the mistake of closing the country, advising relations of friendship for repairing their deficiencies in knowledge, and urging that the foreign envoys should never be spoken of in terms of contempt, but rather be invited to the Court and presented before the Emperor, as in civilized

countries. A favorable answer was returned and the fruit of this decision was soon seen in the new educational policy of the Empire.

Echizen was the first nobleman who sent for teachers from America. In his province the first common schools were organized and here was raised the Ninth Division, so famous at Port Arthur in 1904. This was the beginning of that system of *yatoi,* or salaried foreigners, in all lines of service, about 5,000 being hired between 1868 and 1900, to serve the Empire with their varied talents.

The foreign envoys accepted the invitation to visit Kyoto and have audience of the Mikado. This was a tremendous step in advance, for no Europeans had ever yet crossed the Imperial threshold or looked upon the face of the Tenno.

There was danger in entering Kyoto, and none knew this better than the British Minister, Sir Harry Parkes, and, as he told me, he "took precautions." Fanatics of the old school could not understand what was going on, for they thought that the Mikado's restoration and the expulsion of the barbarian were synonymous terms. In their minds, dogmatic theology was not yet separated from practical diplomacy.

On March 23 crowds gathered to see the Ministers of three nations on their way to Imperial audience. The British Minister's escort consisted of sixty armed men, twelve in front and forty-

eight in the rear, with native soldiers preceding and following.

All went well until the procession got into a narrow street. Then two fanatics ran amuck with their two handed swords, dealing blows furiously and rapidly. Nine of the eleven British guardsmen, a soldier of the Ninth regiment, and the Japanese groom were slashed, and five horses were badly cut. Goto Shojiro, running in front, took off the head of one assassin with a sweep of his sword, and the other was wounded and made prisoner.

The British procession turned back. The Emperor, to whom the insult was greater than to the English envoy, at once sent several high Ministers in full Court dress, to express his regret at what had happened, and five days later issued a decree, declaring that acts of violence towards strangers would be punished according to the gravity of the offence. If the offenders were Samurai their names would be erased from the roll of the gentry. Mutsuhito thus made clear his purpose to reform barbarism. Hereafter, every one of his servants attacked received fresh honors, and in case of death posthumous reward.

This new decree was enforced only with great difficulty. The intensity of Japanese conceit and pride was then so colossal that native officers felt humiliated even when treating foreigners decently. The Foreign Department was a new one,

and it was not easy to get servants of the Government to take the same broad view of things as the Emperor and his advisers. Men brought up on a hermit isle were very slow to make concessions to "barbarians" or in any way to seem to submit to their dictation. The bureaucracy, Japan's permanent curse, tried every means to suppress or delay the publication of the Emperor's decree, but Mutsuhito and his advisers were firm. Already the young Emperor, as he was soon to be popularly as well as officially called, gave proof of the determined spirit within him.

However, as a foil and an ostentatious assurance of national orthodoxy, the anti-Christian edicts, signed by the Great Council of the Government, were republished. All Japan read these on the notice boards which hung under roofed frames set on platforms in the city wards, town divisions and the villages. A new set of wooden slabs or tablets was put up in place of the old. I remember the fresh wood and shining ink. Barbarism still triumphed at Court and conscience was in slavery, as in medieval Europe.

In April, 1868, as the result of the bold petition of Okubo, the Mikado made his first appearance in a public assembly, and travelled beyond the city of Kyoto to see Osaka and the sea.

The effect of Okubo's petition, ungarnished with references to Chinese precedent and uncontaminated by a single legal fiction, was like an

electric shock. It opened a broad vista of life to the young ruler of Japan.

To allay clan jealousy and harmonize conflicting interests, the leaders at Court established "the Constitution of 1868." The text of this document, expressed in five articles, all models of terseness, came directly from the pen of Mitsuoka, of Fukui, disciple of Yokoi and retainer of Echizen, later Viscount Yuri. One must not read into it the ideas either of twentieth century Japan, of parliamentary England, of the American Declaration of Independence, or of the Constitution of the United States. It was to safeguard the nation against the ambitions for supremacy of any one clan, such as Satsuma or Choshiu, while "public opinion" meant that of a single class, the Samurai. "The people" had no political existence. The "Charter Oath," first sworn in the Imperial Palace, is literally translated by President Harada, of the Doshisha University, with notes, as follows:

"On the twenty-third day of the third month of the first year of Méiji (April 16, 1868), H.M. the Emperor being present at the Shishin temple of the Palace [Kyoto], taking oath before the Divine Illuminance (or deities) of Heaven and Earth, declared the fundamental principles of the Restoration:

"First. An assembly shall be organized on a broad basis: all policies (of the state) should be decided by public opinion.

"Second. Both Government and people shall be united in one heart: every undertaking should be pushed with vigor.

Third. Civil and military classes with distinction and also commoners shall each carry out their aims: it is necessary that the spirit of the nation shall not be tired out.

"Fourth. Mean usages of the past should be destroyed: all things shall be founded on the Universal Law (or Way) of Heaven and earth.

"Fifth. Knowledge should be sought in the wide world: foundations of the royal realm shall be firmly established (elevated)."

To give the new "Constitution" sanction and authority the Mikado's oath was necessary, for everything must now be done in his name. The significant place where the oath was taken was the Shi-shin-den, or Purple Mystery Hall, a separate edifice of noble proportions and venerable associations. The text was published in the castle of Nijo, the headquarters of the Camp which had long overawed the Throne. In its interior decoration, at least, this was the handsomest building in Kyoto, except possibly some of the gorgeous temples of the Shin, or "Protestant" sect of Buddhists. In this edifice the assembled Court Nobles and the land holding barons had formed a house of assembly for the discussion of public questions.

This "Charter Oath" formed the basis of the Constitution of 1889. As matter of fact, it was

twenty-one years before its provisions were fulfilled, the prerogative of the Emperor limited, the rights of Japanese subjects guaranteed, and their liberties assured. Bitter experience taught the Japanese statesmen that representative government could not be created at once, and that the too hasty introduction of liberal or democratic views in a country whose institutions were essentially aristocratic would only lead to reaction and bloodshed. Nevertheless, here at Kyoto, in 1868, was the visible beginning of constitutional Japan.

On April 13, in a palanquin or *norimono,* screened from the public gaze, Mutsuhito travelled to Osaka, and looked for the first time on salt water. He was present at a review of some of his soldiers. He saw the six Japanese steamers, belonging to the various Daimios, moving without sail or wind. This was a great day in his life.

His Majesty next despatched Prince Arisugawa to Yedo, giving him a sword and a brocade banner, with one thousand picked troops, to assert Imperial authority in the Kuanto, or Broad East.

CHAPTER XV

TOKYO: EXIT SHOGUN; ENTER MIKADO

The new Government was still in a very precarious position. It consisted of but a handful of students and loyal clansmen, of the average age of thirty years. These bold spirits had converted also a few of the court nobles and thus got possession of the Mikado. The great majority of the gentry and courtiers were even yet filled with that old spirit of pride and hatred to aliens, arising from insular narrowness and dense ignorance. No revenue, treasury, or national army or navy existed. Clansmen and factions were over numerous, but not one national dollar, school or soldier was as yet visible.

On the other hand the angry followers of the deposed Shogun were gathering arms and forces to resist the "usurpers." On arriving at Yedo Kéiki had summoned Katsu and Okubo his councillors, who at once advised full surrender, to which Kéiki agreed and notified his adherents not to resist the loyal army.

Moved to pity lest Yedo should be laid in ashes, high officers, the princesses Kadzu and Tensoin, widows of the two last Shoguns, sent some of

their ladies as messengers of mercy along the Eastern Sea Road, over which the triumphant victors under Saigo were approaching. The fire "flowers of Yedo" might, under the war torch, blossom in a garden of flame, many miles square. Largely through the influence of the Unionist Katsu, friend of Saigo, Yedo was spared the torch. On March 25 the Kyoto troops entered the Castle of Yedo. The ultimatum, which offered forgiveness of Kéiki, included in its terms the surrender of all public property.

The terms were formally accepted by the ex-Shogun, but his infantry soldiers fled by thousands to the north, where a coalition hostile to the new order of things was planned. The seaports were taken charge of by the Imperial officers, who at Nagasaki enforced ruthlessly the old laws against the "Christians." To the popular and even to the official mind the religion of Jesus was synonymous with sorcery and magic, if not rebellion.

No less a statesman than Kido, "the Pen of the Revolution," was the official agent in dealing with the Nagasaki believers, who for two centuries had secretly kept their Christian faith and hope. On July 10 about six score of these banned people were taken by steamer to the northern province of Kaga. Tied together, labelled and numbered, like so many bundles of firewood, about four thousand were ultimately deported

and distributed among the different Daimios. They were kept in prisons situated in old craters of volcanoes, and were nearly starved. I saw one of these parties, several score in number, in February, 1871, while travelling in the mountain regions of Echizen. They were dressed in the criminal's color of red, and roped together in line.

Army officers held Yedo and the municipal administration was carried on by officers of the old régime, but on June 13 Prince Sanjo arrived. Then the question of revenue for the Tokugawa clan, estimated at $1,110,000, was taken up. The Court had made Tayasu Kaménosuké, a boy of six years old, afterward Speaker of the House of Peers, the head of this honorable family, but as yet had not decided how much was to remain the property of the clan.

The dissatisfied retainers of Kéiki were very angry when the Yedo Castle and the munitions of war had been given up, and now resolved to resist, even to blood. They formed "the band which makes duty clear" and seized the park and temples at Uyéno, in the northern part of the city.

"Fighting fire with fire" was voted the correct policy, so Mikadoism was pitted against Mikadoism, all of which shows how deeply rooted and universally held is the idea. As the lord abbot of Uyéno was a prince of the blood, virtually a hostage for the Throne, in the Camp city, as ordained by Iyéyasu, the Yedo rebels were able to

set up a rival Mikado as pretender to the Imperial throne.

This "court doll in long sleeves," like the old Fujiwara or Hojo figureheads, named Rinnoji no Miya, was deceived into yielding. Gathering other clansmen, runaways and various nondescript characters out of employment, and making Uyéno Park—the seat of the Taisho Exposition of 1914—their headquarters, these defiant ruffians terrorized Yedo and even murdered the loyal troops in broad daylight. Sanjo ordered this band to disperse and summoned the rival Mikado to the castle, but the latter, a mere puppet, was not allowed to obey. So the sword was unsheathed.

On July 4, led by General Omura, who had introduced foreign drill, the Imperialists, singing their war songs, moved to the attack. The battle raged fiercely all the morning, but when in the afternoon the Hizen men got two Armstrong guns into position, their effective artillery fire decided the day. The remnant of the beaten army fled to Aidzu, in the north. During the combat the great temple, one of the most magnificent in Japan, was burned. A few months later, in January, 1871, I walked over its calcined foundation stones and its heaps of ashes of camphor and hinoki trees, with Verbeck of Japan. The desolation was appalling. The "Black Gate," or entrance to the beautiful grounds,

looked like a honeycomb with its bullet holes. So peppered was its framework with lead that a square foot of untouched wood was hard to find.

The Uyéno insurgents "had ruined the business" and instead of the two or three million *koku* (over ten or fifteen million bushels), which the retainers of the great clan had expected, the amount of the fief's revenue was fixed at seven hundred thousand koku (4,400,000 bushels) annually. Those whose fortunes were wrecked went to dwell in large numbers in Shidzuoka, Suruga's chief city and the home of Iyéyasu in his later life. It was there that I talked with many of them.

Keiki lived in Mito, but there was danger that the disaffected might seize his person and set up a new sort of pretender. He therefore petitioned the Court that he might be allowed to live in Shidzuoka. His request was granted.

There, in "the St. Helena of Tokugawaism," this last of the Shoguns dwelt for a generation, firmly refusing to emerge from his seclusion, to see strangers or to take any part whatever in political affairs. In the name of the new head of the family, Tokugawa Iyésato, his able advisers and guardians established in Shidzuoka a school of science and modern languages, and sent a commissioner to the writer, when at Fukui, to engage an American teacher, who was Mr. Edward Warren Clark, author of the life of "Katz Awa,

Founder of Japan's Modern Navy," and other books.

In 1902, hale and hearty, and the father of a large family of sons and daughters, created a marquis, invited by His Gracious Majesty, the Emperor, to live in Tokyo and later made a Prince of the Empire, Kéiki returned to his old home in the great city, now so greatly changed in environment, to live until 1913. In 1910 Count Okuma was able to obtain from Prince Kéiki for his book, "Fifty Years of New Japan," a delightful chapter of reminiscences and an explanation of his conduct that breathed throughout love to his country and loyalty to his Emperor.

Opposition in the north had centered at the lord Aidzu's castle of Wakamatsu, later the site of Japan's greatest steel foundry. The siege began October 8, 1868, but the loyal forces, though armed with American breechloading rifles, had only twelve-pounder siege guns. A combined assault was made on October 30, and the castle, after prodigies of heroism, surrendered on November 6. The Emperor graciously pardoned all the twenty-five nobles in real or nominal rebellion, and their repentant retainers. In the usual public and official confession of sin, borrowed from Chinese models, he blamed himself and excused the crime of rebellion, because the Throne had not been honored for seven centuries. The final proclamation, on November 1,

1869, a brief but noble document, reveals Mutsuhito as a magnanimous ruler, a sincere lover of peace, a reconciler, and the true father of a nation. It shows how well the Emperor understood the Miltonic dictum, "Who overcomes by force, hath overcome but half his foe." Of the heroic maidens at Wakamatsu, one afterward was appointed to study in America, graduated from Vassar College and became the wife of Field Marshal Oyama.

Here is part of the text of the Imperial pardon which shared the moral burden of blame:

"We have heard that a great Prince draws after him his subjects by his virtue, while an ordinary ruler meets them with provisions of the law. In our opinion, the unnatural condition of rebellion depends solely on the possession, or want, of kingly virtue in the Sovereign. Now that peace has been restored in our dominions and a settled state of things established throughout the Empire, it is our pleasure to grant pardons to Kéiki, Katamori, and their adherents, and to encourage them to a spontaneous reform of their lives. Thus shall our royal clemency be extended throughout the Empire."

As we noticed before, on November 3, 1868, the birthday of the Emperor, now sixteen years old (eighteen, in native reckoning) was celebrated, and henceforward was to be a festival throughout the whole Empire. No capital pun-

ishment may take place on that date, and with holiday and rejoicing, it has become one of the greatest days of the year for Japanese in all parts of the world. Chronology was also partially reformed. It was announced that thereafter there should be only one *nen-go,* or year period, for each reign, the new era being named Méiji, or Enlightened Rule. It is a pity that the Japanese did not part completely with their old system, so utterly worthless before A.D. 645, and so confusing ever since.

Another bold break with tradition! The Shogunal City of the Bay Door was to become a Kyo, or capital. To prepare the minds of the people for the change, it was declared that there should be two capitals, eastern and western, Kyoto was to be called Saikyo, or the Western Capital, and Yedo, Tokyo, or the Eastern Capital. When I was in Japan native gentlemen always spoke of Mutsuhito as the Mikado and the old city as "Saikyo," and the new capital as "Tokyo." Now the term Saikyo is almost obsolete.

To reach Tokyo, Mutsuhito began an overland journey of nearly a month, which now, by steam, on steel rails, occupies a day.

In token of quiet in the north, the Emperor received back from his general, Arisugawa, the brocade banner and the sword of justice. Yet though "all was peace Within the Four Seas" on

land, there was war on the water. On October 4 the eight vessels of the old Yedo Government, with about 3,000 men, sailors, soldiers and former retainers of Tokugawa, under the head of Admiral Enomoto, who had been educated in Holland, left Yedo Bay and went north, declaring their purpose to colonize and develop the archipelago called the Hokkaido, or Northern Sea Gate. Taking possession of several towns in Yezo, they proclaimed a republic. Following American precedent and customs, they balloted for officers. The new born state, saluted by the guns of the Fort Kaméda, near Hakodaté, was inaugurated, and "universal suffrage" declared to be the basis of the Constitution, though only the Samurai could vote.

This republic, of untimely birth, had not a thousand years of evolution behind it. Other plans were made and dreams enjoyed. The new Jonah's gourd flourished, but on April 21 the east wind withered all. The Imperial fleet of six steamers, reinforced by the ex-Confederate ironclad *Stonewall,* just arrived from the United States, started northward. After some fighting, both on land and sea, the insurgent forces were defeated. The short lived "Hokkaido Republic" melted into oblivion, and by the end of the month of May the war was a thing of the past. Another republic of the Jonah's gourd pattern, which sprang up in Formosa, fifteen years later, was

likewise shrivelled up and withered in oblivion.

Again Mutsuhito's name became a principle of national unity. Enomoto, Hayashi (later of London) and Otori, once arrayed against the Imperial banner, became, when pardoned, among the ablest and most trusted servants and envoys of the Emperor.

All talk of "the Tycoon's returning to power" ceased by the summer of 1869, when the head of the Empire was dwelling in Yedo and every hostile weapon had been grounded. "All was peace under Heaven." The port of Niigata, on the west coast, was formally opened to foreign trade, and on January 6 the envoys of the six treaty Powers, which had long ago recognized the new Government, were, with their naval and military staffs, received in audience by the Emperor. At home the way of reconciliation was opened wide, because the Mikado put in practice the principles of vicarious sacrifice and in an edict bore all blame. Taking also long views into the perspective of history, he shouldered the blameworthiness of rebellion, because "the sovereign had not administered the laws during the past seven hundred years." No one was put to death, and only two out of the twenty-five rebellious nobles—mere figureheads, the real offenders being their retainers—were condemned to retire from public life. Rinnoji no Miya, a pretender by compulsion, was placed in seclusion in Kyoto.

In the vista of the twentieth century, how vast the changes! Time has healed the war scars of Aidzu and the Hokkaido. Of the beaten clansmen, thousands of veterans or their children, are in the Christian churches, especially in those of the Greek Catholic communion. Hundreds of able swordsmen paid off, individually, their scores with Satsuma in 1877 and 1878, while long since the names of "rebel," "vassal," "pretender" have been buried in those of forgiven and now devotedly loyal subjects of one Emperor, even as they are the servants of one common country. The supreme influence in the transformation has been that of the Man of Peace, Mutsuhito, Emperor of Divine, Unconquerable Everlasting, Great Japan.

CHAPTER XVI

THE GOD BECOMES HUMAN

The Government of 1867 had been formed on the theory of a closer union between the Emperor and his people, through the medium of three sets of officers, Kugé, Daimio, and Samurai; or, Court Nobles, barons and gentlemen. "The people" did not yet exist in any political sense.

It will be interesting to note what strong men the young Emperor was able to gather round him, for the carrying out of his ideas and theirs. The most active man of the old nobility and chief agent at Court of the progressive clansmen was Iwakura Tomomi. Of immemorial lineage, sprung from the Minamoto family, allied in blood with the Emperor, a consummate master of statecraft, he had never seen an Occidental until fifty-five years of age. Yet his long experience with courtiers and the Shogun's officers in Kyoto made him easily the match of any of the foreign Ministers whom he confronted. Made Junior Prime Minister in the triple Premiership, Iwakura was the constant adviser of the Emperor and of the new and younger statesmen. Early in 1869, under the plea of ill health, so usual among

Japanese men of station, and always accepted without delay or inquiry, he asked to be relieved of his offices. His request was only partially granted, for his purpose was easily read. He followed the custom of resigning in form in order to gain more of the substance of power. It was a "change of the mats, but not of the floor." He was reappointed, with larger powers.

The new Government had no money and Japan no actual unity, and the average Japanese no true patriotism. Asked of what country he was a native, his instinctive reply was, "Echizen," "Tosa" or "Satusma," as the case might be. The personal sense of nationality was then very weak. In such a state of division, a new civil war might break out any time.

The able men of low rank, who gave direction to the public opinion of the clans, were now the real rulers of the nation, and they had foreseen the dangers ahead. The castle lords were unable to meet the situation. Only one out of forty of the Daimios had any special ability to face the new situation. The leader in thought, if not in act, among them was Echizen, who, as early as February, 1869, in a memorial to the Emperor, proposed a return to the Imperial Government of his castle, fief, and roster. If a blow was to be struck to give the reality, as well as the notion of power, it must be done in the Emperor's name, and the resolve was made to strike the blow

quickly. Ito was one of the first to propose the abolition of feudalism at one stroke but it was Kido, the "Pen of the Revolution," who was chosen to forge, on his inkstone, that thunder bolt, mightier than the sword, which was to demolish feudalism.

These students and men of the new age had established a newspaper, called the *Official Gazette*. In this, on March 5, appeared a petition, following in the line of Echizen's proposal, from the four Daimios of Satsuma, Choshiu, Tosa and Hizen. It was a document in the modern style, a new state paper in the new state. Rapidly surveying the history of the country, with rhetoric phenomenally free from Chinese expressions and precedents, that author argued that everything in Japan belonged to the Emperor, and that results should instantly follow upon the truth realized, in accordance with this doctrine. Action followed on the word, according to the dominant Oyoméi philosophy, and this was the ending: "We now reverently offer up the list of our possessions and men. Let . . . all proceed from the Emperor; let all the affairs of the Empire, great and small, be referred to him."

Centuries of exercise had made sovereign the rights thus surrendered by the leaders of four great clans. The lightning struck home, shivering the superstructure of feudalism. So powerful an example was quickly followed. In forty days

118 out of the 276 Daimios restored their fiefs to the Emperor, and soon the total number reached 241. The minority of seventeen was disregarded. The old castle lords returned landless to their fiefs, to act temporarily as province-governors. "Han-chiji" (province-governor) was the title in signature to the document handed me, March 5, 1871, by the former Daimio, Mochiaki, when welcoming me to Fukui, as organizer of education, under the still existing feudalism, into the province of Echizen. So far as the writer has learned, he was the first under the Imperial Charter Oath, brought directly from a foreign country to Japan—the file leader of a mighty army of *Yatoi,* or salaried foreign helpers, to be employed in "relaying the foundations of the Empire."

In execution of his oath the young Emperor had called a parliament, which opened in Kyoto on April 18, 1869. About 200 out of the 276 members, all Samurai, were present. It was not a national assembly, for neither the cities nor the towns were represented, but only the clans. The people at large had no voice. Without power, such an assembly was really nothing more than a select debating society, from which few practical results could be or were obtained. Radicals and reformers, and some of them very able men, there were, but the general tone of the assembly was ultra-conservative. The propositions to allow freedom of conscience, with other liberal meas-

ures, were voted down. When Arinori Mori, later Minister at Washington, proposed to abolish *hara-kiri,* and the wearing of two swords, he was hooted at. Having neither information, nor intellectual equipment for political business, these talkers were dismissed, having done nothing. It was like the first parliament of the English commonwealth in 1655, or of the republican China in 1913.

When, on April 18, the young Emperor left Kyoto for the East, the fiery patriots in his old body guard, numbering about two thousand, implored the Son of Heaven not to leave the Sacred City nor to pollute himself by intercourse with foreigners. They were in reality earnest protestants against the new theology, which, while outwardly contravening traditional notions, was in reality fulfilling the old; for the Mikado was to become, more than ever, the embodiment of the national religion and the incarnation of the gods, or divine ancestors. The revival of Shinto had made the Throne the center and heart of the whole nation. When His Majesty persisted these militant Shintoists, consumed with zeal, followed him to Yedo.

In the swarm of travellers on the Eastern Sea Road, some of these fire eaters had insulted foreigners, rousing the ire of Sir Harry Parkes and the other envoys. Because the Japanese officers would not punish the offenders, the diplomatists

at once promptly refused to transact any more public business.

The city of Tokyo was crowded with Jo-i, or alien-haters. Their manifestos, posted on the Great Bridge of Japan, declared that "Gradually the detestable barbarian becomes more overbearing and the instances of his misconduct are numerous. Driving about in carriages, etc., he often inflicts injuries on those walking in the street and rides on without any concern. . . . When the foreign savages act in this unlawful manner, cut them down, and by thus displaying the patriotic intrepidity of the men of Japan, crush the courage of the barbarian."

Too true! In a land where wheeled vehicles were almost unknown the foreigners, many of them fresh from China, rode and drove about, more like Tartars than Christians. On horseback and in carriages, riding, even galloping, without bettos (runners), in dangerous violation of long established Japanese custom, in crowded thoroughfares, in which street and sidewalk were one, these rough riders often hurt people who were unused to rapidly moving wheeled vehicles. Nor were all the first comers to Japan the most gentle in the world. The common people's term for most of them, sailors, was *dammurizehito* (D—n your eyes man).

Yet despite internal reaction and weakness, and discouragement from their guests, farseeing

men like Iwakura, Okubo, Echizen and Daté were firm in their policy of friendship to strangers. The age of the hermit was over. True nationalism meant internationalism.

It was the beginning of the end of "a nation within a nation," when, on May 25, 1869, the order, rank or caste of the Samurai was abolished. The Emperor issued his decree, assimilating the civil and military classes, placing them on a footing of equality. The populace was divided into three grades, nobles, gentry, and commons. "Kugé and buké," landless Court Noble and landed lord, were made one under the general name of Kuazoku, or noble family.

The Samurai was to be lost in the mass, for all the people were now servants of the Mikado. Thus Mutsuhito abolished the division and closed the fissure that for a thousand years had split Japan into two nations. The Samurai (the word means simply servant of the Mikado), or gentry, including all feudal beneficiaries from daimio to poor *ronin,* who had formed a nation within a nation, were now the gentry and named *shizoku,* and the common people *héimin.* The Japan of the books, the Samurai's Japan, was passing away. The new Japan of the people was coming in.

The Imperial Government, by edict, reserved to itself the appointment of all offices hitherto held under the late Daimios or Castle Lords.

From this time forward all the *han,* or prefectures, were administered on a uniform plan throughout the Empire. One-tenth of the revenue raised was set apart as the governor's salary. The remainder, after defraying public expenses, was to go into the Imperial treasury. The term *han* means literally "wall" and the term was chosen to signify that his prefectures were the bulwarks of the Throne.

The way being now open, that provision of the "Charter Oath" was carried out. The men of Echizen led the procession of Macedonians, who beckoned across the water to men of special ability and cried "Come over and help us." Through Verbeck, their friend, whom they had summoned to Tokyo to be their factotum, and to organize a national system of education, they asked for a teacher of English (Mr. Alfred Lucy); a physician (who never came); a military instructor (Captain Frank Brinkley,* appointed to Fukui, but retained by the Imperial Government); a geologist and miner (who never arrived); and a teacher of science and superintendent of education. The latter was the writer, who reached Yokohama December 29, 1870, and spent seven weeks in Tokyo, before proceeding into the interior, where he arrived at Fukui, March 4, 1871, to witness, until October 1, 1871,

* Author of "The Oriental Series" and editor of the *Japan Mail* until his decease in 1913.

life under the feudal system, then a thousand years old, and to remain until January 27, 1872. The early abolition of feudalism was the chief reason why the writer had (excepting Mr. Lucy, for a short time) no colleagues in Fukui. Nevertheless in the day when foreigner-hating ronin, or wouldbe assassins, were so numerous, and no life insurance company, except at a heavy premium, would accept the risk of insuring an American life when spent in Japan, other reasons had weight to deter. Except as a lure to danger, Nippon had then few attractions to a young man well settled at home.

The young Emperor could not see the actual rulers, with whom he had made treaties, but their sons and kinsmen were travellers abroad and Japan would be visited. To these, facing the inevitable, the Mikado was prepared to give audience. How to do it, and not be defiled, was a sore problem to the Shinto casuists and ultra-orthodox theologians, to whom His Majesty was, literally, the Son of Heaven. Ordinarily, to cleanse, from his own pollution, a mortal being admitted to the presence of the Mikado, as head of the Shinto religion, the *gohéi,* or spirit-presence-wand, was waved or flourished over the person, or he was rubbed with this holy emblem to purify him of ritual uncleanness. This was the substitute for a "live coal from off the altar," to purge the unclean lips.

It would never do, however, to attempt visibly and openly any ceremony of lustration upon a royal guest, nor would a Christian prince or gentleman submit to it. By an inglorious compromise host and guest saved their credit.

His Majesty's first visitor was the Duke of Edinburgh, who arrived on August 19, 1869, and next day was given residence at the Strand Palace overlooking Yedo Bay. At a convenient distance from the hall of audience, rites with wands of *gohéi* and other Shinto appliances were performed by the white robed and black capped priests, in order to exorcise any evil spirits or influences which might have accompanied representatives from such outlandish countries as England and Scotland, which orthodox Shinto commentators taught had been made from the sea foam and mud left over after the creation of the Heavenly Country, Japan, by the ancestors of the Mikado.

Mutsuhito invited the Duke to a private interview at the Waterfall Pavilion, in the Palace grounds. Attended by five or six of his nobles and the Prime Minister, His Majesty arose, as the British Prince entered, and bowing, begged his guest, who was accompanied by Sir Henry Parkes and Admiral Keppel, to be seated. Mr. Mitford, the accomplished translator and author, whose "Tales of Old Japan" have become classic, acted as interpreter, and Sir Charles Beresford

was one of the naval officers present. The two most illustrious persons sat down, but the others remained standing. Conversation followed, the Duke presenting the Emperor with a diamond mounted snuff box as a souvenir. This lovely space, Hama Goten, later the En Rio Kuan, was set apart permanently for the entertainment of distinguished foreigners. At the British Legation the ball given on the return of the Duke to Yokohama was attended by high Japanese officers, among whom was a prince of Imperial blood.

Sir Henry Parkes, the British Minister, who had lived in China from boyhood, on coming to Japan in June, 1865, discovered for himself the real relation of Mikado and Shogun, risking his life to do it. He had been the efficient agent in helping the Japanese to put a sound financial basis under the new regimé, for it was through his influence that the British banks made a loan of money. During a career in Japan of eighteen years, Sir Henry was the steadfast friend of the Mikado's Government, and no native reactionary assassin, though three attempts on Parkes's life were made, was able to kill this indomitable Christian and friend of Japan.

On May 18, 1871, Parkes had audience of leave before the Emperor. As a mark of special esteem the Emperor invited Sir Henry to a private audience, and asked his British friend to express his own opinions freely. The Englishman urged

the Emperor to put full trust in his *Yatoi,* or foreign employees, and to give freedom of movement to aliens living on the soil. He told the Emperor that the Japanese would never be recognized as a civilized people while they persecuted Christians or denied freedom of conscience to any.

Years have passed, and now the country is open and free to all law abiding people, and freedom of conscience is guaranteed in the Constitution of a nation which is slowly but surely becoming Christian.

In later years, after the Anglo-Japanese alliance, Mr. Mitford, now Lord Kedleston, brought to Mutsuhito the insignia of the Order of the Garter, and added another charming book to English literature; while in Windsor Castle chapel, among the historic flags of the order, one notes the pendent and resplendent gold brocade sun banner of the Mikado and Eternal Japan. The like dignity of knighthood, in the oldest of European orders of chivalry, with star, collar, and mantle, was conferred upon Yoshihito, the present Emperor, by Prince Arthur of Connaught, in the Phoenix Hall, September 18, 1912, on the fiftieth day of the new era of Taisho, or the Resplendence of Righteousness.

This progressive and friendly policy of the Government of 1867, so far from being universally welcomed at home, meant the setting up of an altar for the immolation of fresh victims. The

roll of martyrs, already long, was lengthened. General Omura, victor of Uyéno, had introduced, besides the military discipline of the West, many foreign customs. Sent to Kyoto, with some of the fanatics that had come from that city, Omura was killed on October 8 in the same city by these same murderous wretches, one of whom lost his head in the fight which ensued. On the assassin's person was a document declaring that Omura was slain because he had arbitrarily introduced the customs of the barbarian. To-day, in a lofty bronze column in Tokyo, the statue of Omura stands in the sunshine and his name is honored as the military reformer who led in the change from the medieval arms and tactics to the modern forms.

Secretary William H. Seward's purchase of Alaska brought the frontier of the United States within seven hundred miles of Dai Nippon. As Secretary of State in Washington Mr. Seward had negotiated with the first Japanese embassy sent to America. A sincere friend of the rising nation, he had frankly denounced, as barbarous and uncivilized, the persecution of Christians in Japan. When in Yokohama, as a tourist round the world, Mr. Seward received a special invitation of the Mikado to come to Tokyo, to be received "not in the customary official manner, but in a private audience, as an expression of personal respect and friendship."

The interview is described in Miss Seward's volume. Frank communication was solicited from the visitor. Minister Sawa, who soon afterward fell under the assassin's sword, told Mr. Seward that "in dealing with the vanquished Tycoon's party" the Government "had copied the example of toleration given them by the United States." Lincoln was resting from his labors, but his works followed.

The Court officers inquired in detail concerning the American method of taking the decennial census and the collection and disbursement of the public revenues. Not long after, the Imperial Government imported a financial expert from Washington, General Williams, and replenished the national coffers by putting in operation a modified form of the internal revenue system of the United States. Instead of borrowing money at ten and twelve per cent. loans were floated at seven per cent. through General Williams's representations abroad of Japan's stability.

The Emperor quickly realized that a new world of ideas and time values had come. An atmosphere electric with the quickened pulses of bustle and activity filled the Government offices. On October 2, 1869, two Austrian ships of war with treaty envoys arrived at Yokohama. The Kaiser's representatives had audience of the Mikado on the sixteenth, and on the eighteenth negotiations were finished and the documents signed. In

old days, months were wasted before results were visible.

Baron de Hübner, Austrian Minister to the France of Louis Napoleon, from 1849 to 1859, and author of that charming book "A Ramble Round the World," enjoyed an interview with the Mikado on September 16, and reports thus his impression of his Imperial host:

"The features of Mutsuhito bear the character of the Japanese race: his nose is large and flattened; his complexion is sallow; but his eyes are sharp and brilliant, in spite of the immobility which etiquette prescribes. I had often met faces like his in the streets of Yedo. His costume was as simple as possible—a dark blue tunic, almost slate color, and wide scarlet trousers. His hair was done in native fashion; but he wore a colossal aigrette, made of bamboo and horse hair, which, fixed behind the right ear, rose vertically at the least movement. This is the insignia of supreme rank. Neither the Mikado nor any of his Ministers wears jewels. Except at the moment of speaking, His Majesty held himself as immovable as a statue."

The photographs of the emergent Imperial hermit of Kyoto, as he looked in 1871, show that the young Emperor was unmistakably nervous before his first facing of the camera. In spite of Imperial hauteur he appeared either frightened, or defiant, at the camera. Vulgar superstition

imagined that every time a photograph was taken a portion of the soul went into the image produced.

It may please Americans to know that the first foreigner to be grasped by the hand in hearty friendship by Mutsuhito was General Ulysses S. Grant. Toward him the Emperor of Japan showed a special friendship, because, even more than a soldier who hated militarism, this leader of men had shown himself a peace lover and promoter of concord. The two men met as peacemakers, rather than as commanders-in-chief. Mutsuhito adopted Grant's suggestion that the then burning question of the Riu Kiu (Loo Choo) Islands should be settled by a Joint High Commission, after the example of the United States and Great Britain. Commissioners were appointed, held their sessions and concluded, as they supposed, their labors, on October 21, 1880. Then the whole procedure was turned into a farce by the Chinese Government's taking the matter out of the hands of the "plenipotentiaries" and putting it into those of its Superintendents of Trade!

This piece of Manchu perfidy gave the first serious impetus to the war with China which broke out in 1904.

CHAPTER XVII

MUTSUHITO UNIFIES THE NATION

The Mikado's policy of leniency toward all the disaffected was grandly successful. Not only were the old clan leaders, once hostile to the new form of government, received back into Imperial favor, but the brilliant abilities and great talents of many of them were utilized, with vast national benefits. Many were appointed to high office.

Although the Emperor was married and was supposed to have absolute power, yet upon its full exercise, in 1869, wisdom placed limits, as the Constitution did twenty years later. When he was about to leave Kyoto with his bride for Yedo, the old conservatives, who had held to the dogmatic theology of Shinto, alarmed at the "down grade" of things and dogmas holy, made opposition to the Empress's going with him. Their militant demonstration of orthodoxy was so great that a compromise had to be made. Haruko, the Imperial bride, was left behind and the Mikado started alone.

For six months she remained in her native city, and then, on November 8, started for her future home, to dwell with her husband in the Far East.

Again the fanatics, ostentatious in their phariseeism, made some attempt to restrain her from leaving Kyoto, but, as with Rebecca, her word was "Hinder me not." They failed to change her purpose and after an overland journey of nineteen days she rejoiced her Imperial consort.

We may now glance at the religious import of the Restoration.

The apparent weakness of the average Japanese in the personal matter of religion has been often illustrated in the history of his country. The apparent ease with which he changes from one cult to another, while seeming to prove that his faith sits lightly upon the conscience, may rather reveal the tenacity of his belief in Shinto and his adherence to ancestor worship. In the unchanging reality underneath the varied phenomena the alien may be deceived.

In the province of Mito, even before 1850, it had been seriously proposed to abolish Buddhism, its temple bells being utilized for the casting of cannon. In Satsuma this abolition had actually been accomplished, the Buddhist temples being closed or turned into schools. The people of the Empire who were now, by Imperial proclamation, ordered to return to Shinto, the religion of their prehistoric fathers, did, many of them, obey as quickly as in the sixteenth century they became Roman Catholic by order of their feudal lords.

The actual results showed that even the power of Mikadoism had limits.

In other words, what had thus been done locally was, in 1870, attempted on a national scale, and—failed.

We repeat: Mikadoism had a new outburst of zeal, backed by the Government, when an edict was issued ordering the people to return to a belief in Shinto. Official zealots expected complete conformity. In all those temples in which Buddhism and Shinto had been, for a thousand years, more or less, linked together, in the form called Riobu (mixed, or double), especially those which had originally been dedicated to the Shinto divinities, a general separation or "purification" was ordered. This decree, so far as related to architecture, was carried out with thoroughness. Some of the most splendid edifices in the Empire and hundreds of the smaller shrines were stripped of their images, furnishings and decorations. Everything in them that could suggest the dogma, ritual, or symbols imported from India disappeared. Some of the radical reformers even hoped that the whole nation would be thus brought into the Shinto fold. Buddhism was disestablished and much of its land confiscated. It was Verbeck who let the Japanese into the secret of lay trustees of ecclesiastical property.

Nevertheless, as a system Buddhism was not seriously injured. Its roots were too deep. Speak-

ing generally, the movement for the establishment of a purified and national Shinto was, externally at least, a failure. The "Revival" seemed to be mainly literary, for Shinto, as a true religion, is but a shadow. The course of decadence may be traced in the steps taken with regard to the Government establishment. At first it was a council, *Jin Gi Kuan* (Council of Gods and Men), outranking even the *Dai Jo Kuan* or Great Government Council. Thence descending, it became a subordinate department. Later it degenerated into a mere bureau, which was abolished after a few years. Finally the whole system was so far secularized, in 1900, as to be what it is now, little more than a patriotic cult.

Internally, however, Shinto took a new life. In the presence of foreign aggressions, credal, economic and political, this body of sentiments and traditions helped to make a new nation take the place of local fractions. Indeed, it was rather a smart piece of statecraft to declare officially that Shinto was not a "religion" but a political bond of national unity. This has enabled the Government virtually to coerce, in a measure, the consciences of Christians in Japan and Korea. The Constitution grants the equality of religions, but the minions of the bureaucracy are sometimes able, as in Korea, in 1912, to make the fundamental law of the land a dead letter.

Meanwhile the double problem pressed, how

to win back Satsuma and to create an army that should be national. The military question threatened complications. The example of the United States in maintaining so small a standing army exerted a powerful fascination over the minds of men who saw that Japan was a very poor country and needed first of all to develop her resources. Okubo, almost the overmastering intellect in the Cabinet, favored the American precedent. He would have the Government build a railway from one end of Japan to the other, in order to destroy sectionalism, even though for generations the enterprise paid no dividends. Outlay in money would be justified in returns of nationalization. Others urged that an army sufficiently large to keep internal order would suffice, while the bulk of the new national revenue should be spent on public education, as the cheap defence of the nation, and on harbors, dykes, roads and modern appliances. Some insisted on the need of arming for defence against predatory nations and the arrogant claims of China and Russia. After long and serious debate among themselves several members of the Cabinet met, in the autumn of 1870, at the house of Dr. Guido F. Verbeck, head of the University. Stating both sides of the case, they appealed to him for judgment.

In substance, this was Verbeck's reply, as he himself told me, in January, 1871:

"Gentlemen, your opinions are in harmony with those of the best men in every civilized country. But while peace is the dream of philosophers and the hope of the Christian, war is the history of mankind. Considering what the attitude of European Governments toward Asiatic nations is, I advise you to fortify your coasts. You know what Great Britain has done in India, and France in Annam and Tonquin. Germany, having humbled France, will soon be looking for possessions in this part of the world, and may get Formosa. Russia has been for centuries steadily moving eastward, she already occupies half of Saghalien, and in 1861 tried to seize Tsushima. You see the dangers. They are real. Now, gentlemen, I advise you, besides fortifying your coasts, to create a truly national army. Educate the young men while you train them, and make promotion open to all. This will secure exactly what you are seeking. It will destroy sectionalism and excess of class conceit, and will fill the people in every part of the country with a proper pride in the welfare of the whole nation and an earnest zeal for His Majesty's honor."

Verbeck's dictum was an immediate and powerful element in creating Japan's national army. The mainspring in the next line of action by the Imperial Cabinet was the American's advice. Within a few weeks after the conclave in Verbeck's house steps were taken to form a national

army, on exactly the plan proposed by the peace loving but wise missionary. Conscription, which levelled all privilege and class distinctions, has been proved to be one of the powerful engines in democratizing Japan, even as the aristocratic lord of Satsuma saw and vigorously protested against. While levelling down, it has also levelled up, for the sons of the once social outcasts have won glory as heroes.

In its treatment of the native Christians the new Government was at first a "frog in a well." It acted with Russianlike arbitrariness and a rampancy of barbarism, to which the full freedom granted in 1889 was the later recoil. Against the united protest of the Ministers of foreign Powers the authorities in Tokyo had a ready excuse. The question of native religion in any form was one entirely of domestic policy. There was a strong party in the country which, with distorted prejudices, inherited through two centuries or more, abhorred what they imagined to be Christianity. Moreover, the new Government, but lately established and still far from all powerful, could not run counter to the general opinion.

Mikadoism was at the root of this judgment and manifesto. The Japanese Ministers knew only too well that respect and even superstitious awe for the Emperor was the foundation of their polity, nor did they seem then to know that the rising tide of nationalism was not wholly the re-

sult of the forces in Mikadoism, great as these were. They honestly believed, so in the dark were they, that the presence of native Christianity endangered their very existence as a Government, just as in Korea it has been fancied that American missionary zeal is dangerous not only to despotism but to good government. Like that of many theologians and politicians, their narrowminded logic in both cases was faulty in the extreme.

Nevertheless, let it be remembered that in the eye of the old law and its traditional enforcement, Protestants and Greek Catholics were not "Kiristans," or followers of the padres or friars, nor had the Dutchmen on the island of Déshima ever been so considered, inasmuch as they used no symbols and had no connection with the Inquisition, or propagation of opinion and cult by violent means. Happily, as we shall see, the Emperor "hated" his fathers and with personal pleasure granted freedom of conscience.

For two generations, however, it has been a serious problem in Japan how, in the face of popular notions and family traditions, to be a patriotic subject of the Emperor, while also living as a Christian; or, in other words, how to adjust the relations of individual rights with communal claims. How to reverence the Mikado according to old time pagan notions and yet to give unqualified loyalty to Jesus, his spir-

itual Master, is even yet a vital problem to many a native Christian.

So long as the Throne of Nippon is based on mythology, and so long as things spiritual and temporal are mixed up in Japanese as in Russian politics, there is constant danger from the Government of violation of the Constitution, despite the strong language of this fundamental law, in favor of freedom of conscience. To say nothing of China, for ages a church nation, and now officially in favor of Confucianism, this political dogma lay at the root of the troubles in Korea in 1912. In one sense the Constitution, which grants the rights of the individual in a communal civilization, is an anachronism, being in spirit and letter so far in advance of the tissue of reality. The same difficulties are seen in the Chinese republic of 1912. When abused, the doctrines of Mikadoism have cramped the view and narrowed the intellect of the Japanese, both as individuals and as a nation.

When, however, ideas are properly differentiated, there ceases to be any difficulty. As soon as Japan drops her ancestor worship and every pretense of state churchism, all suspicion as to the genuineness of her reforms, or doubt as to Japan's continuing in the path of real progress will pass away.

Thus, in Dai Nippon, war has been steadily waged between reactionary chauvinism and ever

advancing intelligence and patriotism. At times, even with the twentieth century, it has seemed as though even the Department of Education would be seized and held by the owls and the bats, that fanatical officials were enslaving the intellect of the masses, and that Japan would revert to the darkness of past ages. Gradually, however, enlightenment and truth have won their way and now, in the Constitution, religious liberty, if native Christians are loyal, vigilant and courageous, is set upon an immovable foundation.

In the light of this historic episode which has taken place under our eyes, one may well ask whether the words of a certain American critic,* superb in his own field of art and architecture, written in 1905, are worth anything if taken to represent more than their literal expression. Does he truly gauge the power of Japan's Emperor to play the part of Canute, except to repeat history's anecdote of failure? Can the chick get back into the shell? The architectural critic says:

"A word from the right source, the one superior source, the Mikado, would send the whole ridiculous card house of Western art and Western manners crumbling into instantaneous collapse."

* "Impressions of Japanese Architecture." Ralph Adams Cram.

Has the Mikado any such power? Mutsuhito, "the very incarnation of the spirit of Japan," is dead, and in February, 1914, an outburst of militant democracy in Tokyo overthrew the Ministry.

However, in the matter of seeming not to yield to foreign dictation the Japanese, perhaps even more than the Chinese, but with more seriousness, like to save the "face" of a thing. He most easily wins and leads them, who makes the leader's will and purpose seem their own. This was the secret of the amazing influence of Verbeck of Japan, who never asked a personal favor, and who so presented his views as to make his pupils believe that these were of their own initiative. What he diffused as gentle showers on the mountain tops came back as ocean floods. The Japanese thought they were entirely original, real creators of ideas, when they were, in reality, mere absorbents and docile pupils. Nevertheless, their true genius showed itself in applications. Unconsciously borrowed ideas shamed the originals. "Adopt, adapt, adept," is a process particularly and most creditably Japanese, fitting their country to be the middle term between the Orient and the Occident.

CHAPTER XVIII

TRIALS OF THE YOUNG EMPEROR

Young as Mutsuhito was, he was early called upon almost continually for active service as ruler. After adult manhood he became one of the most industrious of sovereigns, following a daily routine of duties. It was this severe activity that early qualified him to know men, to read their motives, and to gauge quickly their value and capacities. Mutsuhito, with Sanjo and Iwakura, formed the Supreme Council, which discussed the affairs of state. When matters of great importance came up, all the Ministers were called in, the whole body forming the *Dai Jo Kuan,* or Supreme Council of the Government, in which sat three prominent men of Hizen, two from Choshiu, one from Tosa and one from Satsuma.

The powerful Satsuma clansmen, believing themselves to have been the principal agents in bringing about the Restoration, felt that they were not properly rewarded or honored in the distribution of offices. After ten years strain, amid the toils of camp and field, and their once insolent victors humbled, was this slight notice of

their exertions to be their only guerdon? Moreover, results had not been what they expected. Satsuma was *not* supreme, and Japan, especially Tokyo, was too highly flavored with things foreign. In fact, the Satsuma Unionists came into collision with the Imperialists who were now in the Cabinet. In a fit of hot jealousy they left Tokyo and embarked, in July, 1870, on their steamers, and returned home in the far South to brood over their discontent.

The Emperor had taken the first steps in renunciation of his old secluded life, and entered gladly upon the career which modern conditions required. The former mode of existence in hermitage was founded on the theory that he was a god. The nation's new life was expanding on the idea that he was a man. Such public appearances could, in 1870, be made without danger, whereas only two years before they would have met with violent protest and even outbreak.

On May 7, 1870, the Mikado appeared uncurtained in public in the new capital. Tens of thousands of his subjects were only too happy to look upon the face of their august ruler, who rode through the streets of Tokyo to the plain of Komaba, to review his soldiers, cavalry, infantry and artillery, not yet a true national army, but only a body of clansmen, loyal to their Mikado. The Emperor himself seemed to enjoy being out doors and looking upon his own people. On

October 3, despite unpleasant weather, he rode out again in the same public way, to review his troops.

The same impulse toward progress was felt by the members of the Imperial House. Two princes of the blood left the shores of Japan, one for England, the other for the United States, the latter travelling under the assumed name Adzuma. This was a compliment to the new part of the Empire, in which the Mikado had come to live, being the poetical designation of the Kuanto, or Broad East of Japan, in which Tokyo is situated.

I had, in 1870, the pleasure of meeting and of entertaining this young gentleman several times in both New York and Philadelphia. It amused me to find that in most cases the Americans at first took Barnabas for Paul, not knowing which was Jupiter and which was Mercury. The interpreter, Mr. Yagimoto, from Fukui, was thought to be the nobleman. This was probably not only on account of his polished foreign manners and of his ability to speak English very well, but because he was decidedly handsomer than his august master.

The problem of sulking Satsuma was solved in a way exclusively that of Old Japan, by the Emperor's sending two high noblemen with Okubo, down to Kagoshima, the provincial metropolis. Here Nariaki, the uncle of the ex-Daimio and

brother of the famous Shimadzu Saburo, had lived and died. Then, canonized or deified, he joined the interminable list of Japanese "gods," who once were men. His shrine was magnetic to pilgrims from near and far. Ostensibly Mutsuhito sent his envoys to present a sword at this shrine and "to take an oath to the 'god' to exalt the destinies of the State." Thus would the spirit of this stalwart son of Nippon be soothed. In addition to this form of spiritualism, His Majesty also called upon the living Shimadzu to come to the aid of his sovereign and country.

The written reply of Shimadzu, stuffed with Chinese rhetoric, was characteristic of the now vanished old school of ethics and epistolary writing. He "cannot restrain tears of joy at such a signal mark of Imperial favor." He privately thinks that "the duty of a great subject to his prince is one and simple; namely, fidelity alone. To forget himself for the sake of his country is the highest limit he can reach." He quotes Mencius, though not according to verbal inspiration. He depends upon His Majesty's supernatural virtue, and prays that "the heavenly heart may be pure and transparent."

The chief problem confronting the new Government in Tokyo was its need of cash. Without one national soldier, it possessed only moral power, for the revolution had been carried through because of the great reverence which the

Mikado's name inspired. The physical force, furnishing fuel for this motor came principally from Satsuma, Choshiu, Tosa, and Echizen. Yet if Satsuma should now refuse to cooperate, the new Government's danger would be greatly increased. The work of the two envoys, sent southward and reinforced by Kido, was to persuade the great clans to hand over to the direct control of the sovereign large quotas of their own troops and thus begin an Imperial and national army.

Satsuma was to furnish four battalions of infantry and four of artillery, Choshiu three battalions of infantry, and Tosa two battalions, each of infantry and artillery, and two squadrons of cavalry. Other clans were to supply soldiery in the same manner. This was done in due course, and April 2, 1871, may be named as the date of the beginning of the modern military establishment of Japan.

I remember the joyful day at Fukui when word came into the far interior, that the pathway of "glory and virtue" was open to the youth of all classes, by entering the army. It was like conferring a patent of nobility upon a peasant, to allow him to bear arms. After seeing many contingents of the old clan army, I was present by invitation at the review of the first regiment raised in Fukui. The young men, nondescript as to clothes but uniform as to arms and equipment, marched with faces flushed with a new en-

thusiasm. The old abysmal distinctions were forgotten, for Samurai and commoner, in the ranks, were one in hope and patriotism. The spirit of the knights had descended into the whole nation, making the invincible hosts that were to humble proud China and arbitrary Russia.

This preliminary work was done none too soon. Besides uprisings of peasants, on account of the injustice of local officials, there was one more attempt, in 1871, to set up a rival Mikado and reinstate the old order of things. It illustrated the old proverb, "Diamond cut diamond," but everything was planned on the time honored method, which was, first of all, to get possession of the person of some one of the princes of the Imperial blood. With a Son of Heaven in their grip the usurpers could give the color of sanctity and law to their proceedings done in his name. At Kyoto the prince, Rinnoji No Miya, was living quietly. He had already, in 1868, been set up as a pretender to the Throne, by the rebels at Uyéno, in Tokyo.

For several months plots were hatching. Disaffected men of many clans gathered together, expecting to march through Kiushiu, seize the castle at Kumamoto, and then go to Kyoto and proclaim the Miya. They made a cat's paw of the peasantry in Bungo, by promising them to remit the land tax. These ignorant people, led on by the reckless two sworded men, rose on

January 8, 1871, against the magistrates, and set the Government buildings on fire. When, however, the Imperial troops, sent by steamer from Nagasaki, quickly reached the scene of disorder, the armed rebels scattered and fled, leaving the poor country folk to their fate. Ignorance, first led and then deserted by craft, was left in sorrow.

Other troubles in the province of Shinshiu were quickly settled in like manner. The loyal troops, armed and disciplined in modern form, with the resources of steam and electricity, moved with what seemed miraculous speed. Valor on wings availed against valor leaden footed. Intelligent patriotism overcame ignorant fanaticism.

In other directions Mutsuhito was making progress. Private law in the Empire was codified. On January 13, 1871, two Englishmen in Tokyo were attacked by three two sworded men and wounded very severely. With Verbeck, I had the pleasure of helping to nurse them back to health. With the utmost promptness, the three assailants were caught and their confessions extorted from them before their punishment was decreed. What surprised and pleased the British Minister was the production of a new criminal code, two out of five volumes being then ready. According to its provisions two of the guilty ruffians were strangled and one sentenced to ten

years of hard labor, all three being degraded from the rank of Samurai. Public proclamations were also made that such an act of assault "not only involves the credit of the Government but is a disgrace to the community."

In this affair the Mikado's sincerity and desire to keep his word of honor with his alien guests were strikingly demonstrated. One of the assailants was a Satsuma man, from whose clan great pressure was brought to bear upon the Government to save him from dishonor and punishment. The innovation of putting gentlemanly scoundrels and murderers to death on the common execution ground, where vulgar felons were beheaded, soon made assassination unpopular. It was seen that the Government was determined to go still further, even as late as 1901. Instead of this conceited assassin's being allowed even the privilege of a form of death which the vulgar would deem martyrdom, the anarchist, in this case a true product of decadent Chinese philosophy, was condemned to hard labor for life among common jail birds. Such drastic medicine was effective.

In May another great conspiracy, headed by two young nobles, was discovered. Part of the plot was to burn Tokyo, carry back the Emperor to Kyoto, and change the whole system of government. Amid such plots Mutsuhito grew in fearlessness and intellectual stature.

Japan had as yet no national standard coinage and currency. Coins were flat, round, oval, perforated and nondescript. Over eleven hundred varieties of the local paper issues of the Daimios were known, and the financial sorrows of Japan were great. The Emperor sent Ito, later Premier and Prince, and perhaps the best known Japanese statesman of the nineteenth century,* to the United States, to study the mechanism of money. While in Washington, D. C., Ito read "The Federalist," "finding it," as he said, "as interesting as a novel." He was confirmed in his ideas of centralization in government, and in time graduated from Hamiltonism to become a Bismarckian. The result of his report was the adoption of the decimal system of round and milled coinage, and of national banks modelled on those of the United States of America. On April 4, 1871, the new national mint at Osaka, built under British superintendence, a superb enterprise and a splendidly equipped institution, was opened with great solemnity. The new coinage, of gold, silver and copper, speedily became popular.

The issue of this honest money, as well as of the new postage stamps, which came later, brought up an interesting problem. What symbolism and devices should be used? The answer

* See "The Statesmanship of Ito" in the *North American Review*, January, 1909.

touched even theology and revealed Asiatic notions. In Europe coins, being epitomes of chronology, sentiment and portraiture, form a large port of the assets of true history. In Chinese Asia, where the idea of personality has always been very low, individuality next to nothing and history little more than bare annals, the official stamp is often more than the coin itself. The money of old Japan, whether metal or paper, was decorated with symbols, figures and characters, but never with portraits of a living ruler. Not even yet does the face of the Mikado appear on the national stamps or coins, although photographs of the Imperial family are in circulation.

Mutsuhito guided the ship of state between the radicals, who would plunge headlong into modern civilization and adopt everything foreign at once, and the conservatives, who would make changes only under compulsion and with dangerous slowness. The fever of exodus rose to a climax. Hundreds of young Japanese, many of them of high rank, and almost all of the gentry class, went abroad to travel or study. On coming back, after rushing over continents, or while puffed up with undigested knowledge, gained in ridicuously short courses of study, they were eager to make Japan a new France, a new Germany, a minature copy of the British Empire, or a model, on a small scale, of the

United States, according as they had lived in one or the other of these countries.

In the qualities of self esteem and profound conceit the natives of Nippon, despite their polite self depreciation, have never been lacking. Their isolation bred a particularly strong type of the element of pride. Novices in travel often secured office on the strength of having been abroad. Some of the hardest problems of the Government arose in dealing with these half educated men. The older men of experience were more and more trusted, so that most of the real questions of government in the Méiji era have been settled by a very few men, "the Elders," or the "Elder Statesmen," whose power of influence is unspent even in 1915.

CHAPTER XIX

FEUDALISM SWEPT AWAY

The men who made the new Government felt that in the institution and the person of the Mikado they had power by which, rightly utilized, they could reconstruct the nation on foundations older even than feudalism, despite its seven centuries of existence.

While Tokyo was filling up with the ex-Daimios and their retainers, a newspaper was started with the idea of ripening public sentiment for the next great stroke of policy, which was to kill the feudal system and bury it beyond hope of resurrection. The first number of this *News Budget* appeared in June, 1871. Among many other things, it contained a memorial from the governor (ex-Daimio) of Higo, who after a long discussion, petitioned that he and his whole clan might return to the agricultural condition.

A Samurai might choose farming, but not trade. The Zézé clansmen led off in noble example. They said, we agree "to resign our hereditary pay, to enter the agricultural class, to exert our energies in the cultivation of the ground," and thus "be of some, however insignificant, use to the State."

Feudalism was now attacked in a war of pamphlets. Centralization of all the resources of Japan, in order to secure national independence, was the main idea in view. An Imperial army, and uniformity in land tax, land tenure, currency, education and penal laws, were the greatest needs.

The people soon got into the custom of calling the movements of the Mikado's hand "earthquakes." The first great shaking up took place on August 11, 1871, when all the members of the "Cabinet" were dismissed except Sanjo. The purpose was to improve the quality of the high officers of state; for when, a few days later, the Government was reformed, the ablest of its former members were again in office. "It was a change of mats, not of the floor." Iwakura, representing the old nobility, became Minister of Foreign Affairs. The four Councillors of State, Saigo, Kido, Itagaki, and Okuma, were from the four great clans. Okubo of Satsuma was made Minister of Finance, and Goto Shojiro Minister of Public Works. Looked at from another point of view, this "earthquake" weakened aristocracy and lifted no fewer than six men, formerly simple Samurai, nearer the Emperor and into the highest offices. Soon the system of Imperial governors, sent to or moved from any of the provinces, as in the pre-feudal era, became the regular rule of procedure. In spite even of

Satsuma, this plan of transferring the emphasis of personal loyalty from the local barons to the nation's chief was carried out.

The crowning edict of the Mikado that fell like a stunning thunder clap, heard all over the country, was the abolition of feudalism in form. The old clans and provinces, at first called *han,* were made *ken,* or prefectures, that is, subdivisions of the Imperial Government. Mutsuhito declared that he was thus getting rid of the vice of the unreality of names, and striking at the cause of political diseases, which proceed from multifarious centers of authority.

Such a decree, sweeping away the last landmarks of a fabric more than seven hundred years old, seemed to the world at large tremendously bold, and indeed it was. Very few aliens could then understand the power of the Mikado's name and word, or the depth of the nation's loyalty to the Throne. In most places the Emperor's order was received as a matter of course. Yet it was an awful risk thus to let loose the four hundred thousand swords of men many of whom were able with brain and pen also. How were they to be occupied? I had full opportunity of seeing the immediate effect of this edict, when living at Fukui, in the castle, under the feudal system. Three scenes impressed me powerfully.

The first was that at the local Government Office, on the morning of the receipt of the Mi-

kado's edict, July 18, 1871. Consternation, suppressed wrath, fears and forebodings mingled with emotions of loyalty. In Fukui I heard men talk of killing Yuri, the Imperial representative in the city and the penman of the Charter Oath of 1868.

The second scene was that in the great castle hall, October 1, 1871, when the lord of Echizen, assembling his many hundreds of hereditary retainers, bade them exchange loyalty for patriotism and in a noble address urged the transference of local to national interest.

The third scene was on the morning following, when the whole population, as it seemed to me, of the city of 40,000 people, gathered in the streets to take their last look, as the lord of Echizen left his ancestral castle halls, and departed from Fukui to travel to Tokyo, there to live as a private gentleman, without any political power. Only a few farseeing men could understand the significance of these movements.

On the financial side the ex-Daimios were better off than before, for having now money enough (one-tenth of their former income) they could maintain themselves and their families easily. Hereafter they were free to go abroad and see the world, or to travel wherever they would in Japan. These were new and great privileges. As for employment in Government service, however, only men of ability, without regard to their

rank, would be sought. No officer need expect to be appointed to the province in which he had previously held office, for the power and authority of each department of the Government was to extend throughout the whole Empire. It was Mutsuhito's desire and purpose to fuse local prejudices and attachments in the common fire of national patriotism.

The Emperor's advisers had expected to use force, and in some instances to shed blood, as I once heard his high officers say, but they were greatly disappointed. But what was now to be done with the tens of thousands of the ex-Daimios' retainers? Only a few of the old wearers of sword and silk had returned to agriculture. Most of them waited for what might turn up.

To pay the pensions, hitherto enjoyed for centuries, required an annual outlay of about $40,000,000. The *News Budget* contained various plans for commuting the Samurai's pensions. One of the ablest of these was written by a councillor of Echizen, whom I knew well. His plan was to reunite the military and agricultural classes. All the Samurai, whether holding office or not, were to be divided, and then enrolled on the registers of the different villages, they being allowed to buy or sell their revenues. No one thought, even at that late date, of a merchant, or trader, or any skilled money maker, as a companion for gentlemen, though a farmer was. In

the four great classes, nobles, gentry, farmers and commoners of all sorts, tillers of the soil ranked next to the Samurai.

The Government's scheme was matured and published in 1873. Samurai, voluntarily surrendering hereditary incomes, were given a sum equivalent to six years salaries, and to those having life income a lump sum equal to four years pay. By this means a large class of non-producers would at once become productive, the finances of the State be relieved, and the national wealth be greatly increased. The gentlemen with salaries thus commuted would have some ready capital for business purposes. Pitiful as seemed the amount, it was all that the Government could afford to give, and money had to be borrowed for the purpose.

Here was an invitation, on a large scale, to an army numbering, with its families, 2,000,000, to beat swords into ploughshares and spears into pruning hooks. To hasten the process the Mikado issued an order permitting the gentry to discontinue wearing swords. Up to this time a Japanese gentleman would no more have appeared in public without blade and scabbard, the badge of his rank, than his social equal in Europe or America would promenade the streets in his shirt sleeves. Yet from this time forth tens of thousands of Samurai not only left off their blades but doffed also their flowing robes, though

in donning new and tight costumes they changed from picturesque oddity to clumsy and unlovely commonplace.

Nevertheless, in spite of what artists and lovers of the unique and strange in the Japanese may say, the natives themselves understand human nature and hold the true philosophy of clothes. Their great ambition is to be treated as men, as gentlemen, and as the equals of Occidentals. In their antiquated garb they knew that they or their country would never be taken seriously.

Very soon we saw a change of dress, not only among soldiers and Samurai but among all the government officers and even in the Mikado himself. The courtiers had been persuaded to costume themselves no longer as idols or demi-gods but as modern gentlemen and ladies. It is certain that the laying aside of the Samurai's garb hastened the decay of the old barbarous customs which belong to feudalism. In fact, this revolution in clothes helped powerfully in the recognition by the whole world of Japan as an equal in the brotherhood of nations.

One potent influence in assisting the former Samurai to honorable livelihood soon became manifest. The foreign experts (*yatoi*), who began to arrive in increasing numbers, set an example of industry, especially in mechanical pursuits, engineering and industrial exploitation, and even in the use of their hands, as well as in

teaching and clerical labors, that was nobly contagious. These guests of the nation took off their gloves and coats. Soon there developed among thousands of natives, who formerly despised manual labor and commercial activity, a spirit of emulation and rivalry highly creditable and boding vast good for the nation. The work of the *yatoi* or foreign assistants in helping Japan to solve the problems suddenly thrust upon her has been a noble one and deserves the notice of the historian.

Notable among these *yatoi,* or salaried strangers, was the American commission of scientific men engaged for the development of the resources of Yezo. These gentlemen, General Horace Capron, Dr. Thomas Antisell, Major Warfield and Dr. Stewart Eldredge, were received in audience by the Emperor at the Cascade View Pavilion, at 10 A. M. on September 16, 1871. Afterward Professor Benjamin Lyman and others were added to this commission and did noble work. Japan's monarch was very gracious and the Imperial welcome and American response were alike appropriate.

It was only those who could read Japanese, however, who knew that in the report printed in the *Gazette* of the Great Government Council the General was made by the Japanese interpreter to call himself "an insignificant servant" (*bi-shin*), no fewer than five times in his brief speech.

It was more than once my privilege, and sometimes unpleasant duty, when inquired of by fellow Americans just arrived, of amply sufficient self-esteem and personal importance, to show their names in the printed lists of *yatoi*—the same word that was ordinarily applied to any hired person, including a day laborer waiting for a job. Nevertheless history has shown that the greatest man is the greatest servant, and the most faithful of the *yatoi* have done most to make the new nation. The Japanese gave to none of their *yatoi* power or office. They used their guests and pensionaries simply as servants, holding rigidly all authority in their own hands. "Nothing is too small for a great man," however, and men willing to serve, like Verbeck and others, gained lasting mastery of influence, unceasing even after death. The most self-effacing servants won the most signal success. When the American, Henry Willard Denison, who beginning on May 1, 1880, after serving as adviser in the Department of Foreign Affairs until June, 1914, lay, like Nicanor "dead in his harness," the entire nation mourned his loss.

CHAPTER XX

MUTSUHITO THE EMANCIPATOR

The American national bank system having been adopted in Japan, the next step in financial reform was to buy up the feudal paper currency and replace it with national money. The new currency was at first in the form of the thick pasteboard "gold notes" (*kinsatsu*), the paper of which was manufactured in Echizen. In Fukui my salary every month ($250), was paid me in a pile of cards, six or eight inches high. In bundles of ten, they were tied through an eyelet in each, with twisted paper cord.

Up to this time paper money, invented in China, the emission of which in Japan began in the seventeenth century, was of very many ages, shapes, sizes, thicknesses of paper, degrees of artistic decoration and state of cleanliness and legibility. These "shin plasters" were usually beyond the boundary of the *han* in which they were issued, as worthless as euchre cards. At home, in the interior city, I used these "shin plasters" daily. In a single journey from Tokyo to Fukui I was obliged to handle seven or eight different sorts of the filthy or fuzzy stuff.

Piled up in small mountains, tons upon tons of this currency, brought to Tokyo, were burned. There were as many as 1,694 forms of these promissory notes, based on gold, silver, iron and brass cash, rice, umbrellas, tools, cloths, and as many articles as a rummage sale or pawnbroker's shop might show. In 1873, in the Imperial Treasury Department, I saw stacks of the old wooden and copper plates, used by the local engravers and printers of this fiat money.

Then in succession, after "clean Mexicans" (dollars) had been for a short time in use, for foreigners in Japanese service, there followed the new gold coinage and the fractional currency engraved in Germany; or national bank notes, after the American pattern; and, finally, the smaller notes of recent years. The beautiful new "greenbacks," engraved in America, were educative. They bore vignettes drawn from scenes in the national history of Japan, especially those which illustrated Mikadoism.

Gradually the mystery play of medieval and musty Mikadoism gave way to modern reality. The new god now descended to the earth and came out of his box shrine into the air. When Mutsuhito visited the Strand Palace he rode not in a screened bullock cart but in an open carriage drawn by four horses. During his first drive in public he was accompanied by a few officers on horseback and about forty cavalrymen. He

wished to cause little or no inconvenience to the people, except that the roads were to be swept and lanterns hung at evening from the eaves of the lower story of each house, as was usual after nightfall. On his way Mutsuhito visited Sanjo and Iwakura, getting down out of his carriage and entering their houses.

On His Majesty's way back the people stood as usual, gazing at their sovereign, just as civilized people do in other parts of the world. This became the rule, the Emperor and Empress going about freely like other rulers, and, after their silver wedding, riding side by side in the same carriage. What had once been a mysterious idol seemed now to have a human soul.

The spirit of democracy made progress. In October, 1871, the nobles were permitted, by Imperial decree, to intermarry with ordinary people. The rigorously exclusive dress, in fashion during two centuries, of loose trousers and silk coats, or *haori,* hitherto the privilege of the gentry alone, was now allowed to all classes.

The Mikado took the nobles into his family council by issuing an encyclical letter, giving them good advice. They should be leaders in animating the people. Their responsibilities were indeed grave. They should "make a tour abroad, to widen their circle of knowledge by seeing and hearing, and thus to improve their understanding," and their wives and female rela-

tives should go with them. The secret of the power of other countries lies in the fact that "each individual does his best as a member of the nation."

His Majesty said furthermore, "We have lately changed our ancient system and desire to run equally in the race with other countries. . . . In consequence, too of the want of a system of female education in our country, many women are deficient in intelligence. Besides, the education of children is a thing which is connected intimately with the instruction of their mothers, and is really a matter of the most absolute importance." The Imperial permission to women to go abroad was given, so that they might "learn that the instruction of females in foreign countries has a good foundation, and become acquainted with the right system of educating children."

Nevertheless and possibly because burdened with so many other cares and facing still vast problems, the Japanese Government, even at this date, has shown little interest in the higher education of women, leaving this, for the most part, to the missionaries. Miss Umé Tsuda's school and the "Women's University" in Tokyo are the direct outgrowth of the heart and brain of Christians, Dr. Jinzo Narusé and Dr. Tasuké Harada of Kyoto and the leading educators of women being such.

Mutsuhito deserves to stand in the line of great emancipators, like Lincoln and Nicholas, for he lifted up two classes of his people who, as a separate race, or "non-human," were deemed outcast from Japanese humanity.

The *Eta* (pariahs) came into existence after the introduction of Buddhism in the sixth century, when the killing of animals for food was religiously banned. The class of *Hi-nin* (not human), originated after the beginning of the Tokugawa dynasty. The industrious *Eta* were workers in the skins of dead carcasses of animals, and handlers of the corpses of criminals.

The majority of *Hi-nin* were beggars. It was into this latter class that social outlaws, who would not conform to the cult of the clan or family, were driven. Economically, such social exiles saved the expense of prisons and police. It was a cheap way of damnation, without priest, book, bell or candle, and saved the public expense of prisons. Such creatures lived in a hell on earth. From 1721 to 1846 the population of Japan remained stationary at about 26,000,000, but to this number, not reckoned in the census, must be added at least 1,000,000 outcasts, mostly belonging to the doomed or submerged and uncounted people called the *Eta* and *Hi-nin.*

No Japanese would share fire, food or habitation with the *Eta,* and it was rare for the *Hi-nin* to rise into ordinary life. The lowest native sub-

ject considered a house as forever defiled, even when a wounded member of the *Eta* class was brought indoors to be treated by an English surgeon, as Mitford has told us. I could hardly get one of my students to walk with me through the *Eta* quarter of Fukui, which seemed to be shunned even by the dogs. Nevertheless it must be acknowledged that the latter, being then unowned and coveted for their hides, had good reason to fear for their own skins. Yokoi Héishiro, the Christian, was probably the first native statesman to plead that these people be elevated to citizenship. He was assassinated in Kyoto, by the *ronin,* for "holding evil opinions," within five hours after making the twin propositions of freedom, for the conscience and for the outcast, both then in a state worse than slavery. He died not in vain. In October, 1871, the following proclamation was issued by the Council of State to the local authorities and published all over Japan:

"The designations *Eta* and *Hi-nin* are abolished. Those who bore them are to be added to the general registers of the population, and their social position and methods of gaining a livelihood are to be identical with the rest of the people. As they have been entitled to immunity from land tax and other burdens by immemorial custom, you will inquire how this may be reformed and report to the Board of Finance."

Yedo, a city of wooden caravansaries, to which had come daily during the feudal period spectacular caravans from the castle towns in all parts of the Empire, changed its face with its change of name. The old hollow squares of the *yashkis* were turned into barracks, parade grounds, vegetable gardens or mulberry plantations, and their buildings utilized for public offices. The jin-riki-sha, invented by the American Jonathan Goble, an ex-United States marine and Baptist missionary, rolled on every street. Thousands of the people dressed in European costumes, or what they imagined to be such. To a well groomed foreigner most natives at first looked as if they had gone to a rummage sale and there equipped themselves. The rage for hats emptied the slop shops of the seaports, while those in Tokyo were full of goods "from the ships." These, to the Japanese—the sense of smell being largely a matter of education and association—had the same outlandish odor which things Oriental have to us. In hundreds of other "stores" the discarded spears, swords, furniture and Japanese bric-à-brac were to be bought at shockingly low prices. Often, indeed, they became literally "for burning and fuel of fire," and even for the heating of the bath water, or the cooking of the daily meal. Especially was this true of the cast out idols. Most of the old Samurai swords are now kitchen knives or farm tools. The best of the gold

inlaid ornaments are in our museums, while to the art treasures of the world a distinct addition has been made in the *tsuba,* or sword guards. In a collection of these keyholes of history one discerns, through their decoration, a world of Japanese wit, fancy, poetry and tradition wrought in metal.

While taking rapidly to things material from the West, the Japanese were slow to modify radically their old culture, or to receive religion from the same direction. They will probably be always hesitant to embrace Christianity in its purely European, or metaphysical forms. In 1871 Nakamura, the translator of "Self-Help" and of Mill "On Liberty," and the virtual founder of the Liberal and Progressive parties in Japan, openly advocated the introduction of Christianity. He denounced branding the religion of Jesus as wicked. He publicly challenged the Mikado's infallibility: "How does His Majesty know it [Christianity] to be evil? It is impossible to know the nature of anything till it has been tried. Formerly all foreigners were called barbarians, but now that the Japanese have come to know foreigners, they call them barbarians no more." The strength and wealth of Western countries, he argued, were due to the number of good men who were animated by the spirit of the faith they held, which was the fountain whence sprang their good government. "Now

Japan is delighted with the flowers and leaves, but will take no account of the roots." Foreigners did not admire the Mikado's course of action and the countries in the East were despised by the West, because the Orientals hate the religion of the Westerners. The author even went so far as to advise the Emperor to be baptized, become the head of the Christian Church in Japan, and lead his people in professing Christianity. Happily for pure religion, the Mikado has not yet done anything of the sort.

CHAPTER XXI

JAPAN SEEKS HER RIGHTS OF SOVEREIGNTY

As yet Japan was without the rights of national sovereignty, and the men of the new generation chafed under the indignity. They had hated the Bakufu, or Yedo Government, for surrendering this, in the Townsend Harris treaty, and allowing the consular courts of aliens on the sacred soil of Japan. They now sought to have removed what in 1858 had been granted with easy and frivolous acquiescence, or, as recorded, "agreed to without demur."* To secure the end in view they would cross oceans and plead before the President of the United States and the sovereigns of Europe.

As the date fixed for the revision of the treaties was July 1, 1872, the Emperor and his advisers felt that this would be a good opportunity to explain to foreign Governments both the Restoration and the revolution which had taken place. They claimed that, on account of these facts, the odious extraterritoriality clause in the treaties should be abolished and the Imperial authority

* See "Townsend Harris, First American Envoy in Japan," p. 124.

be extended over all persons within the Mikado's domain, whether natives or strangers.

An embassy to Europe and America had been proposed as early as June 11, 1869, and its route mapped out, by Dr. Guido F. Verbeck, American missionary in Japan. This Dutch-American, first teacher of the men who made the New Japan, found that more than one-half of its members, finally selected in 1871, had been his pupils. To say, as some shallow Japanese do, that neither education nor statesmanship in Japan has or had been influenced by the missionaries shows both their ignorance and their absurd conceit. To discuss the question whether the foreign teachers have profoundly affected the national ideals would without rigid definition on both sides, native and alien, be a worthless proceeding.

Some of the hermit statesmen had innocently supposed that as soon as Japan had made a code of laws based on the ideas prevalent in Christendom, foreign Governments would be at once willing to revise their treaties and place their citizens and subjects under Japanese authority. Only three years or so, it was thought by some ardent patriots, would be necessary to conform Japan and the Japanese, in all essential respects, to the nations of the West. Many confidently looked forward to welcoming Iwakura back with the draft of new treaties in his pocket to take the place of the old ones.

Such trees of hope produced only Dead Sea apples. Our American Minister, Mr. Charles E. De Long, told me in 1871 that before the commissioners started he had pointed out to them that they were not clothed with full powers and that their plans would come to naught; and so it proved.

After reaching Washington, the American Government would do nothing, and Okubo was despatched home to obtain the requisite credentials. Months were thus spent and lost, or improved, abroad. Even then, however, the United States would not act without the other States in Christendom, while in Europe the envoys found they were still looked upon as little less than picturesque barbarians, because of the persecuting policy toward the native Christians. All requests for a revision of the treaties were refused. The whole matter was referred by the various Governments to their diplomatic agents in Tokyo. It was strongly hinted that something besides law codes on paper was necessary before Nippon could be received as an equal or treated in a different way from Turkey or the barbarous States. The ambassadors, after twenty-one months abroad, arrived in Japan, September 13, 1873, in no happy mood. The agitation for treaty revision ended only in 1900. That Kido was thoroughly right is proved by the manifold enrichment and vast advance made by the

Japanese during the long probation on which they were kept by the Treaty Powers.

The embassy accomplished a great deal of good through the study, by nearly seventy of its intelligent members, of the people and institutions of the West. While in New York, Iwakura and Okubo, in an official letter, heartily thanked the little company of American gentlemen and ladies who had advanced funds to support the Japanese students, otherwise financially stranded, in New Brunswick, N. J., during the civil war of 1868-70. They inquired particularly after the two Christian women who took into their homes the first two lads, when, owing to the kitchen and servant situation, these youths could secure board and lodging nowhere else. Through Mr. George Haven Putnam the envoys secured a library of works on international law, from Grotius and Puffendorf to Wheaton, and this case of books, well used, is still in the Foreign Office in Tokyo. In Washington Kido inquired long and earnestly concerning the origins and working details of political administration in the United States, and purchased a library of books treating of the philosophy of government. Afterward he urged his younger friends to study these, Montesquieu being the favorite author.

The general effect of the mission was to turn the face of the nation away from China and toward the adoption of Western ideas and institu-

tions. A full account of the doings and reports of the embassy was published by the Government in a set of handsome volumes. The $750,000 spent on the mission abroad was a good national investment. In form and spirit this embassy was different from any that had ever gone from Japan. It was the first one sent out by the Mikado and representing him. Long before its return we in Toyko noticed that the anti-Christian edicts had disappeared. These were removed on the plea, to protesting inquirers, that the people were already familiar with the substance of the prohibition.

A lively book could be written upon the comic side of the great embassy's history: the mistakes made mutually, the density of Occidental ignorance, even among statesmen, regarding Japan, and the many odd revelations to certain members of the embassy, as they saw themselves in the mirrors of fresh and novel experiences.

In Boston, Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes innocently perpetrated a joke upon the august envoys, in a poem read at a public dinner:

> "God bless the Mikado,
> Long live the Tycoon!"

The prayer has been answered; for Mutsuhito lived until 1912 and the ex-Tycoon until 1913. The amusing thing was to compare these names and offices together, three years after the office

of Tycoon had ceased to exist. Imagine in England a gentleman proposing, in one toast, the health of the merry monarch King Charles II. and honor to Oliver Cromwell; or one in a company of Jacobites linking together the names of Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Hanoverian King George II.!

The Japanese, among other things very desirable, were in search of a religion. Though anxious to win the secrets of Occidental civilization, most of these wise men at that time knew next to nothing about Christianity except as they had heard about it as a far off echo, in nursery tales, or from their nurses and grandmothers about the "Kiristans" of three centuries ago and their alleged magic and sorcery. In 1873 Japanese in political power were inclined to blink at the very mention of the religion of their best friends, such as Perry, Harris, Verbeck, Brown, Hepburn, and Parkes. The study of religion was assigned to two young members in the suite of the ambassadors, the later Minister of Education, Tanaka Fujimaro, and the later Professor Kumé, neither of whom took their duties with profound seriousness.

On shipboard this committee on religion was embarrassed by the leading question of a Roman Catholic priest, who may have been also a Yankee. They asked him what his religion was. He made answer chiefly by inquiring what was theirs.

At once the Japanese proverb was fulfilled, as in a picture show. "The beaten soldier fears even the tops of the tall grass." Routed and driven to bay, the subject was dismissed with the assistance of tobacco fumes, for those most interested gathered in the smoking room, to decide on what answer to give. "Were the Japanese Buddhists?" "Away with such a thought, for Samurai!" "Did they hold to Confucianism?" That, as they knew well, was no more a religion to the average Japanese than is the unwritten code of politeness of any gentleman with us. "What is Shinto?" Who, outside of Japan's little archipelago, knew what this cult was? It seemed disgraceful to go before the world as men from a country which had no religion, yet they had to face the reality, for these Samurai of 1873 did not represent the Japanese millions. However, they got through America without being questioned!

The real point of the whole incident lies not at all in religion, and, when thoroughly understood, has no real interest to the theologian or propagandist. The basic fact is that the two or three score members of the embassy, whether humble interpreters or august ambassadors, were in no sense, not even the political, the real representatives of the people of Japan, but only of the Government then in existence. The Japan of the books is almost wholly the Japan of the Samurai, with something about art and incidents

concerning the *géisha* and artists. The Japan of the people, or the heart of Nippon, or social Japan, is not yet open to the world.

It is significant that in later life Professor Kumé was the first native scholar bold enough to apply the higher or scientific criticism to the *Kojiki* and show the utterly baseless fabric of Mikadoism as a religious cult. Instantly a storm of hostile denunciation of such daring impiety broke. What happened about the same time to the critical scholars in America who had introduced science in place of tradition took place in Japan, as also in the clerical Christianity, which is often so different from that of the Founder. The accusations on both sides of the Pacific had much the same result. Professor Kumé was charged with "degrading Shinto to the level of Christianity" and of insulting the Emperor. The Americans were accused of heresy and of various isms abhorred by the scribes in power. To such lengths can fanaticism go! The Japanese and the American professors were each promptly silenced within the pale, but in the case of the heathen scholar he was retired on half pay. In 1912, writing of religion, this same Professor Kumé describes Shinto and Confucianism as "present life" religions, and Buddhism and Christianity as "future life" religions.

Not least of the impressions of the religious life of America was gained by Mrs., later the

Marchioness, Tanaka, who in the homes of not a few guests inquired concerning family worship and into the training of children. She visited many a nursery, while enjoying the hospitality of American mothers.

In Europe some of the most rabidly materialistic of the embassy sat up at night, telling old Chinese stories, and slept by day in the railway cars, while passing through superb scenery and regions replete with thrilling history, while wide awake in the machine shops and arsenals. It may be different now, despite the allegation that "the old culture has conquered." Meanwhile true religion, whatever its name, under the irresistible influence of Jesus, the Samurai of the Ages, and in spite of friends and enemies, self-purgative and driven by motors unseen, moves more and more the heart of Japanese humanity. Not least of the exemplars of the power of Christianity, which may live and work outside its own followers and ritual forms, was, as I heartily believe, Mutsuhito in his later years.

Probably the feeling of the overwhelming majority of all Christians in Japan, who pray daily for their august ruler, is that the Mikado may be, by conviction and practice of life, a sincere and humble follower of Jesus and thus uplift, bless and lead the nation by force of example. Apart from this, they pray that he may keep his hands off, make the Constitution's guarantee of liberty

of conscience a reality to the fullest degree, and restrain not only the bigots and fanatics of all sects and creeds, while crushing out all attempts to make religion of any sort an engine of state, the trust and monopoly of a corporation, or a means of personal gain.

CHAPTER XXII

THE NATION'S FACE TOWARD THE WEST

New Japan's declaration of independence from Asia came through a change of calendar, on January 1, 1873. Old fashioned Japan, which meant nearly everybody in the four thousand islands, thought the world had turned upside down, when New Year's Day fell on January 1, instead of February 9. The lunar and Chinese calendar was for Japan dead and buried. Conformity with the time measurements of Christendom was officially declared and was duly celebrated on January 1. Japan's Emperor, in adopting the Gregorian calendar, wished not only to be in harmony with Occidental civilization but also to assert fresh sovereignty and independence.

Nevertheless, in their settled policy not merely to imitate but first to select, then adopt, and finally to adapt, the Japanese took care not to use those words of historical origin associated with Christianity, or in common Occidental use. On the contrary, they tried to build science on mythology. They employed colorless terms in their own language, marking years and days, in the

era of Méiji, and reckoning from "the foundation of the Empire" by Jimmu Tenno, 660 B.C. January 1, 1872, began the New Year, which was the year 2532 after the accession of Jimmu, who got a name one thousand or more years after his supposed existence. Hereafter even Japanese who professed to be educated spoke habitually of "our twenty-five hundred years of history," thus lending color to the saying "the more official, the less likely to be true."

It happened that the second day of the twelfth month of the Chinese system fell on December 31, 1872, so that the change effected in the new calendar was facilitated by leaving out twenty-six days of the twelfth month. New Year's Day was thus "the first day of the first month, of the sixth year of Méiji," January 1, 1873, and the method of counting the years by periods remained the same. No popular protests or riots followed in Japan, as had been, in some instances, the case in Europe, when the people imagined they had lost eleven days out of their lives. Native Buddhist priests and countryfolk still live according to the old, irregular almanac, even as the Russians were, for centuries, eleven days behind the rest of Christendom.

On January 1, 1872, the Emperor went in state on board the ironclad war steamer *Riujo,* to inspect the docks at Yokoska. These are built under the very shadow of the tomb of Will

Adams of Kent, the English pilot of a Dutch fleet despatched to Japan in 1600, whose memory is still kept green in Tokyo by the people of the thoroughfare named after him, Anjin Cho, Pilot street, in an annual celebration. In 1912 his tomb was restored and a bronze statue erected.

His Majesty was to see molten iron poured out and thus get some idea of the processes of metallurgy. The moulds contained the prepared sand for the making of the crysanthemum, and characters for *"Banzai,"* expressing the wish—now, as a thousand years ago, embodied in a stanza which has become the national hymn, that the Mikado might live during ten thousand generations; words which later became the battle cry of the soldiers in the national army. Mutsuhito saw the tapping and flow of the fiery stream into the orifice. Suddenly the mould, probably damp, was blown up, and red hot bits of metal flew all around, striking some of the spectators, who quickly got out of danger. An officer, seeing the Emperor in jeopardy, held up his cap and saved the Imperial face from harm, though His Majesty kept perfectly cool throughout the whole affair.

On January 17 Mutsuhito celebrated the assumption of the Throne and the Empire by the Sun Goddess, Amatérasu, or Tensho Daijin, and his own succession from his heavenly ances-

tor. This takes place only at the beginning of a reign. The Imperial proclamation stated that when the grandson of the sun goddess was about to descend from Heaven his grandmother made him a present of The Fertile Country of Sweet Flags (Japan), saying: "My son, behold! This is the country which you are called upon to govern." So saying, she presented him with the symbol of an ear of rice. Descending from heaven upon the mountains of Hiuga, he there planted the rice, and when the first crops were ready, he partook of it as food. Such is the origin of the feast.

While the Emperor's person was undoubtedly safe, and while probably after 1870 there was no conspiracy to carry him off and set up a rival Government, yet toward the end of March, 1872, blood was shed in the courtyard of the palace gates, because certain fanatics were determined, in defiance of the challenge of the guards, to penetrate into the Imperial residence. Ten men, dressed in white clothes, carrying long staves, and looking like the priests called *Yamabushi,* or Mountain Sect, came to the King's Hand Gate, declaring they wished to lay a complaint directly before His Majesty. Once allowed to get within the gateway, they drew swords. Thereupon the guards fired upon them. Four were killed and one severely wounded. We, the professors of the Imperial University, talked the subject over next

morning, and wondered what could be the meaning of it. Very little was ever said about it.

Along with the change of calendar came a new warmth of welcome from the Emperor to his foreign guests. Having left Fukui for the capital, to which I had been invited by His Majesty's new Minister, Mr. Ogi Takato, in the newly created Department of Education, to come to Tokyo to form a Polytechnic School, after an interview, on February 12, I had early proof of the Emperor's personal interest in his foreign helpers. In the reception room of the Imperial Palace, next to the Throne Hall, those in the educational service in Tokyo, eighteen in number, and of several nationalities, were invited to a banquet. The Japanese officers wore their ancient native caps and gowns, the Americans and Europeans black dress suits, though the German surgeons, Müller and Hoffman, had donned their uniforms of gold and black, holding their spiked helmets in their hands by the *pickelhaube*. The French and Prussians were not as yet very cordial to each other, for their war was just over. The Minister of Education sat at the head of the long table.

It was delightful—and frightfully cold. Only a little charcoal in braziers diminished, by a degree or two, the freezing temperature of outdoors.

One week later, in the Hall of the old *Séido,* or

University of Chinese Philosophy and Learning, we were treated to an exhibition of *No,* or classical opera. The Emperor had sent his band of musicians, twenty-five in number, and ten or twelve of the most famous *No* dancers in the Empire to entertain us. These, in resplendent costumes of the early centuries, sparkling with gold and silver, performed, with the accompaniment of Korean and medieval Japanese music, the four dances: 1. The Great Peace Anthem; 2. The Joy Attracting Dance; 3. The Golden Dragon Goddess; 4. The Benediction of the Mountain God.

During the spring months we often saw the Emperor at military reviews and public gatherings, and he always bowed to us from his carriage. On April 20, visiting the Imperial University, he read an address of welcome to his fellow "rebuilders of the foundations of the Empire." I stood within a few inches of him and heard his clear voice, with its peculiar Japanese use and training, and afterward performed some chemical experiments in presence of His Majesty and chief officers of Court and Government. Surprise and interest made their faces, after a while, look positively human. Mutsuhito wore his ancient classic garb, with high gold feather or plume far above his head. On the part of the interpreter, in presence of the Son of Heaven, it was a case of cold perspiration and a shaking of

bones through stress of fear and awe. The American, who was himself a sovereign and had been in the presence of presidents and seen kings, was more at ease.

One native lad, in the English language classes, in a composition describing the visit of the Tenno to the school, thus burst forth concerning his sovereign. To him no diction could be too lofty, and, in all innocence and sincerity, he borrowed the paeans in the Forty-fifth and Seventy-second Psalms as most appropriate on this occasion:

> "Thou art fairer than the children of men.
> Grace is poured into thy lips. . .
> In thy majesty ride prosperously," etc.

In spite of ultra-conservative and hostile influences Okubo, Ito and others pushed forward, with the help of British capital, the completion of the railway. Above all other objects, this enterprise had in view the annihilation of feudal notions and sectional prejudices, and the creation of a national sentiment. At its opening the Emperor's benevolence was shown even more strikingly toward his subjects, when, incredible as it then seemed to me, four native merchants in plain garb, instead of crouching on all fours, actually stood in the Imperial presence, speaking to and being spoken to by the Mikado.

It was a grand pageant and a sublime and

prophetic spectacle, this dedication of the first railway in Asia, and modelled after Perry's initiative, in 1854. In the pageant of the day, Japan was visualized as an empire. The nobles, and civil and military officers, the Riu Kiu princes, the Ainu chiefs, the foreign guests, the floral and color decorations, the popular processions and rejoicings, the addresses to His Majesty and the Imperial replies, are all worth a volume of description. Yet most impressive and eloquent, prophetic of Japan's glorious future, was that scene in which men of trade, only of late in the social mire, stood erect, both at Yokohama and Tokyo, in the presence of gracious and appreciative majesty.

This was probably the last public appearance of the Mikado in ancient costume. The skull cap, with its pennon projecting high in air, the long skirt-trail, which, when he was resting, was gathered up and hung over the outrigger clothes-frame projecting from the back of his lacquered girdle and thus held, were now to go into the museum. The officers were in their stiff, archaic costume. Mutsuhito and the Senior and Junior Prime Ministers sat immovable during the two hours of speeches and ceremonies. On one occasion I was startled at seeing and hearing one of these images smile and speak to me.

It was in the palace that I saw the Mikado in his archaic robes again, when on January 1, 1873,

I was one of a few selected guests, in the Government service, invited by His Majesty to an audience before the Throne in the Imperial Castle. Robed in crimson and white silk and crowned with the high fluted gold feather, Mutsuhito sat on a throne chair resting on two golden "Korean dogs." On the right and left stood two rows of Court dignitaries. These were dressed in a variety of colors and quaint garments such as a pack of playing cards might suggest, but were shod with modern leather shoes.

Leaving the palace for a week's trip and a stay of two days at "the St. Helena of Tycoonism," where lived Kéiki, the last Shogun, I enjoyed the winter scenery of Hakoné. This, like Japan and its humanity, was by turns superbly beautiful, savage, sublime, repulsive. I saw Fuji San in every garb of gloom and glory, and, on the road, looked on a dead beggar lying naked in the center of the highway, past which men and horses walked and well fed dogs passed. Such a sight, then quite common in my experience, is probably impossible in the New Japan of a thousand hospitals and numerous charity shelters.

The Emperor, resolving to show himself to his subjects in other and distant parts of the Empire, and withal to propitiate Satsuma, made a journey by sea to Osaka and Kyoto. He visited several of the public schools in the capital, re-

ceived the foreign teachers and even partook of refreshments offered by them. At Osaka His Majesty enjoyed seeing the performances of a foreign equestrian troupe, under Mr. Abell. He then took steamer to Nagasaki and Kagoshima.

In the capital city of Satsuma he gave audience to Shimadzu Saburo, who handed to His Majesty a letter full of language which, though sufficiently polite in form, gave great offence to the Government. This gentleman of the old school had not only seen the *Eta* or social outcasts elevated to citizenship, but had even heard of merchants standing in the presence of Majesty, instead of grovelling on all fours. To men of the old mind this was a sign that the country was going to destruction. He charged the Emperor's system of administration with being "in danger of falling into the vice called republicanism." He professed to see, "as clearly as in a mirror," that Japan would eventually become a dependency of the Western barbarian. Again the conflict of the Unionists with Imperialists!

Having made himself visible to millions of his subjects, Mutsuhito returned to Yokohama about the middle of August. While here he had a long consultation with the governor of Yokohama, Mr. Oyé Taku, concerning the case of the Peruvian ship *Maria Luz,* which had come into the harbor through stress of weather. It was loaded with the human freight of Chinese laborers, who

had been decoyed, practically kidnapped, and cruelly treated. Their condition was made known by one of them swimming off to a British man-of-war then in the harbor.

Mutsuhito, not afraid of "the vice called republicanism," nor of Peruvian ironclads, nor of the frowns of men behind the age, resolved to strike a blow for human freedom. After due trial in court, the Chinese laborers were landed on Japanese soil and held until the Peking government was heard from. This was Japan's first manifesto in behalf not of herself only but of Asian humanity. Some foreigners severely criticized the Imperial action and even imagined a Peruvian man-of-war coming to demand satisfaction; but the matter was settled by arbitration, the Russian Emperor deciding that Japan was right.

Incidentally, this noble act of Mutsuhito wrought good to his own people, through publicity of the trial of Japanese slave keepers, who traded in the flesh of women. In the trial at court the cogent arguments of the English barrister, F. V. Dickins, and the translator of Japan's classic verse, helped mightily. Young girls, who had been forced to go into service for vile purposes, were practically set free and the old contracts, which bound them involuntarily for a period of years, were annulled.

The good work, thus begun in behalf of sixty thousand or more women slaves, in the brothels

licensed by Government, has been continued notably by the able editor, member of Parliament, and historian, Shimada Saburo. With the legal weapons furnished by improvement in legislation the Salvation Army, braving Japanese bullies and ruffians, set free in one year more than twelve thousand of these unfortunates. The existence of this traffic in woman's flesh and the abuses of the system make one of the blackest blots on the good name of Japan.

Great conflagrations in Tokyo, in 1911, have helped, or at least given the Japanese an opportunity to cauterize the foulest of the social ulcers of Dai Nippon. Christian women in Japan are besieging the Imperial Diet with petitions in favor of one standard of morality for all.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE EMPEROR IN PUBLIC

After the completion of the first iron road, the next sensation was the building of a railway through the national intellect, such as the reading of the Bible suggests. Mutsuhito's acceptance of a copy of the English Bible, at the hands of Dr. J. C. Hepburn, on behalf of the mission which he represented, through the kind offices of the American Minister, C. H. De Long, was another expression of the Emperor's desire to cultivate friendly feelings with his foreign guests. Being in a foreign language, Mutsuhito could not be expected to consult this book very often, a library in one volume. The Holy Scriptures in Japanese were not yet ready, though several of the books of the New Testament had been translated. It was not until 1898 that a handsome copy of the complete Bible in Japanese, one of the greatest of successful missionary translations, was graciously received by His Majesty. That Mutsuhito made himself in a measure familiar with its general contents is beyond doubt.

As man advances so also must woman. The first lady of the land was now to win fresh honors

with her husband. The time was ripe for the Empress to be more of a wife and a woman and participate in the new and broader life of the nation. In old days an Imperial consort had been allowed to leave the palace only when the days of her confinement drew near. Otherwise she must remain ever within walls. It was reported that she was attended only by vestals, who had never beheld a man and that even the highest dignitaries were not allowed to see her. Like many other traditional statements of the Japanese, I, for one, do not believe this, if taken literally, but certainly her life was wholly one of narrow routine indoors.

On January 16, 1872, within the Palace, the Empress received in audience the wives of the American and Russian Ministers, Mrs. De Long and Madame Buztow. This had more significance than the mere statement of the fact would warrant, for the Empress thereby honored herself more than her guests. The Mikado's wife, in Kyoto days, had never been considered his equal. She was never addressed with the corresponding title, nor awarded the same honors as a woman of like rank and name in Europe. Such equality of wifehood is logically impossible in any country where a harem, or seraglio, or, legalized concubinage exists. By the new privileges accorded to his consort Mutsuhito recognized that the freedom enjoyed by women in Western countries

was "in accordance with the right Way between Heaven and earth," and here again his example has been powerful with his people. In time, Mutsuhito caused the days of polygamy, in the palace and among his subjects, to be numbered, and advised his son, the present Emperor, to have but one wife. At the same time the customs of blackening the teeth after marriage and the wearing of the hair in four styles, to signify respectively maidenhood, wifehood, widowhood or permanent celibacy, were abolished. The new democracy is seen even in the women's coiffure, all classes dressing their hair alike.

Not everything was done by the Japanese out of sweet temper and spontaneous benevolence. Many things were yielded only on pressure. For example, His Majesty had always remained seated while giving audience to foreign Ministers, and any change of native customs, to conform with the etiquette in use at other courts, was resisted by the Emperor's advisers, until Mr. R. T. Watson, the British Chargé d'Affaires, refused to be received unless the Mikado followed the example of sovereigns elsewhere and, in this way, showed real friendship. When the usual policy of delay was attempted, the Imperial authorities were given to understand that unless modern civilized customs were followed in Tokyo, the ambassadors then in Europe would not be received by Queen Victoria. This settled the

question quickly, and Mr. Watson received swift proof of reasonableness, by soon standing face to face with the standing Emperor. One of the noblest traits of the Japanese is his willingness to change for the better when he sees himself wrong. Often by moral compulsion, more frequently by free choice, he walks in the better way.

So far from Haruko, the wife of Mutsuhito, being an "Empress," in the European sense of the word, the Japanese of the early seventies, as I can testify, strenuously objected to speaking of the gracious lady as "Her Majesty." "Bushido" had little to say for the exaltation or even equality of woman. The arguments in explanation of the real position of woman in Japan, as given thus far by native authors, seem tame and lame. But now Japanese would be indignant if one did not address or speak of the Emperor's wife as "Empress," for they see things more clearly. "Kogo Sama"—as her title is—ranks as true Empress, although by the Constitution and Imperial House law neither she nor any other woman can be, as, in nine other previous instances Japanese women before were, sovereign, or Mikado. Largely in reflection of potent example in the Palace, how different the life of the Japanese woman to-day, as compared with that of only thirty years ago!

To unify the commonwealth and end the anomaly of "a nation within a nation," all lines of

advancement were thrown open to all. The army, the navy, the court, schools and public employment of all sorts were made highways to promotion. The motto "education is the basis of all progress" was adopted, as was Verbeck's plan of common school education. The country was divided into eight grand districts, each of which would in time have one university, or eight in all; thirty-two middle schools, and 210 academies, in which the foreign languages would be taught the higher classes. In stimulating this policy, in planning and cooperating, the American missionaries, led by G. F. Verbeck and S. R. Brown, were very effective and the majority of foreign teachers have been Americans. Dr. David Murray was for many years the urbane and efficient adviser to the Department of Education. In the Engineering College of the Department of Public Works English professors were called to serve, and noble is their record.

Ideas grow slowly. Millions cannot be educated in a day. Many local riots throughout the empire showed how little the grand purposes of the Government were understood. In these rustic uprisings the farmers carried on bamboo poles sheets of matting daubed in ink with mottoes, or declarations of their grievances. Rude spears were made by sharpening bamboo staves and hardening their points in fire. Repeal of the conscription law, the abolition of the new na-

tional schools, the restoration of the old calendar, and the right to shave their heads as before, were demanded. Priests wanted the old régime back again. Men whose view was circumscribed by rice fields could not understand the new age. Later on, they approved with enthusiasm.

In consolidating his Empire and asserting its unity and independence Mutsuhito must grapple with the problem of dual sovereignty and also end it. This Chinese doctrine was illustrated in both Korea and the Riu Kiu Islands, and out of it grew the great war with China in 1904.

Although in the little southern archipelago the people are Japanese, so far as features, blood and language can prove origin, they were from very early times pupils and vassals of China. The name Riu Kiu may mean Sleeping Dragon; or, as the Chinese characters are read, Pendent Tassels, or Hanging Balls—that is, part of the tasselled fringe, on the mighty robe of the Great Central Empire. In 1875 the islanders were forbidden from Tokyo to despatch any further tribute to China and a few companies of soldiers, bearing the Mikado's crest on their frontlets, occupied the little archipelago, which henceforth, with its area of 171 square miles and 170,000 people, became an integral part of the Japanese Empire. The kinglet, Sho Tai, came to Tokyo, living quietly in the great city, until August 19, 1901, when he died, his decease ending the last living memorial

of the dual sovereignties, once so common in Asia. Now Riu Kiu is becoming not only the sanitarium of the Empire but a Christian garden.

Reaffirmation of the Mikado's sovereignty required of Mutsuhito protection for these islanders, and he was soon obliged to show his willingness. A tribe of Formosan copper colored warriors, probably near ethnic kinsmen to both the Japanese and the North American Indians, the Butans, were head hunters and under no rule. The Chinese had no jurisdiction over aboriginal Formosa. Many a foreign ship wrecked on the Formosan coast furnished skulls for the dadoes in the village halls.

In 1867 the American bark *Rover* had been wrecked and all on board put to death by these red men. General Le Gendre, United States Consul at Amoy, then visited the island, with a Chinese force, and made a treaty with the Butans, who promised to treat all shipwrecked people kindly. In 1871 sixty Riu Kiuans, cast ashore on this same eastern coast, were killed by these same head hunters, the Butans. Hearing of this, Consul Le Gendre, in the U. S. S. S. *Ashuelot,* again visited the islands to find out why the treaty had been broken. The savages received their old friend gladly and explained that they had mistaken the Riu Kiuans for Chinese, with whom they were at perpetual war, and for whose heads, as desirable prizes, they were always hunting.

The next year Mr. Le Gendre, while in Japan, on his way to America, was consulted by the Emperor's Minister Soyéshima, and engaged as an adviser.

The Butans must be chastised, but how would China look upon the Japanese landing a force in Formosa? Happily the way of conciliation was opened. Mutsuhito, who wished to send to the young Chinese Emperor a letter of congratulation upon his recent marriage, appointed as his ambassador Soyéshima, formerly a pupil of Dr. Verbeck and later Minister of Foreign Affairs. A consummate scholar in Chinese, he was thoroughly versed in the etiquette of the Peking Court. Meeting Li Hung Chang at Tientsin, on April 3, ratifications of treaties were exchanged and Soyéshima arrived in Peking in the nick of time. He used his code of politeness as a rapier to pierce the hide of Chinese arrogance and wound it at a vital point. As ambassador, and thus outranking all other foreign envoys, he carried off the highest honors. The audience question, long discussed, was thus settled for a time at least, and later China acknowledged Japan's right to punish the savages in Formosa. Soyéshima arrived home in August, firmly believing that China was in full sympathy with Japan's purpose.

Japanese art was the first product of the national genius that had attracted the serious attention of the appreciative civilized world, and

the enterprise of international expositions had already been embarked upon. Mutsuhito took great interest in the researches of the American, Mr. Fenollosa, who made a comparative study of the art of Japan and Europe. After decorating repeatedly this "Teacher of Great Men," the Emperor, upon the departure from Japan of this unwearied student, said: "You have taught my people to know their own art: in going back to your great country, I charge you to teach your own countrymen also." It required foreign stimulus to make the Japanese people at large appreciate their own artistic treasures.

After the collection made for Vienna had been shipped an exhibition of interesting things was maintained permanently in Tokyo, and this has grown into the National Museum at Uyéno, where among other things are the relics of Japanese Christianity and the Mikado's throne mats formerly used. From the days of the Crystal Palace in London to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, and in view of the Panama-Pacific Exposition, in 1915, the Japanese have steadily progressed in the capacity and art of exhibition, notably under the practical labors of Mr. S. Téjima.

The newspaper press had become a great engine for the making of public opinion. In 1873 one weekly and two daily papers had been started under private ownership, one being the *Mai-*

nichi Shimbun (Every Day Budget) in Yokohama, which at first was only an advertising sheet without comment or criticism. In later years it was brilliantly conducted by Shimada Saburo, a pupil of Dr. Samuel R. Brown. The other was the *Nichi-Nichi-Shimbun,* or Day-by-day Newspaper, since become a Government organ of great weight and respectability. Like so much Japanese popular literature, the first native journals were loaded with obscenity, which the people read greedily. The establishment of the true Japanese press, in which criticism, comment and interpretation were mingled, was the work of the Englishman, Mr. John R. Black, author of "Young Japan," who founded the *Nisshin Shinjishi* (Daily Newspaper). Good results of its wholesome criticisms were quickly seen in the sweeping away of some of the abominably obscene exhibitions then so common in the city of Tokyo.

Selecting from each nation its characteristic product, the Japanese have become experts in finding out what the world and its various parts can yield them. The French furnished for Japan, at the beginning, the science of war, the art of cookery, and for a time the Code Napoléon. In later years much was borrowed from Germany, General Meckel being chief instructor in the organization of the nation for defence, as well as in the detail of campaigns. The Japanese marines were first organized and trained by Lieuten-

ant Hawes, of Queen Victoria's marine corps, and much was done for the navy by Captain James and other British gentlemen of expert ability. Sir Lucius Archibald Douglas, later British Admiral, was Director of the Imperial Naval College in Tokyo from 1873 to 1875, and the trainer of Togo. These Yatoi, Americans, Germans, Dutchmen and others, an army perhaps five thousand strong, including twelve hundred teachers from the United States, have done noble service for Japan.

CHAPTER XXIV

CONFRONTING NEW PROBLEMS

In May, 1872, Shimadzu Saburo, of Satsuma, was invited to visit the capital by the Government, which sent a man-of-war for his conveyance, to show also that the invitation was not to be lightly regarded.

When he and his band of two hundred Samurai arrived they seemed most sadly medieval and obsolete. All wore high clogs, long red scabbarded swords, had the front and sides of their noddles shaved, went bareheaded and often bare armed, and in general looked like a pack of antiquated ruffians. They found themselves so stared at, and indeed so looked upon as men behind the times that they actually begged their lord to allow them to take off their killing tools. While their comrades of other days, and Japanese gentlemen generally, had cut off their topnots and cultivated their front head hair, laid aside their weapons and either adopted foreign dress or accepted the wearing of the Samurai clothing by common folks, these ferocious looking fellows from the south adhered to the garb and mien of a century gone. Shimadzu was urged to take high office,

and he did so. It was sad work for him, as though Noah had been invited to cross the Atlantic on an "ocean greyhound." He was able to stand the modernism of the renovated Court and Government for a few months only, and then this critic of the Emperor returned to Satsuma and serene obscurity.

The next foreign visitor, on the frigate *Garibaldi,* was the Duke of Genoa, a son of King Victor Emmanuel and a lieutenant in the Italian navy. The Emperor made him his guest, treating him with high honor.

The great embassy, on its return, was confronted by questions of domestic politics that threatened to rend the country. The minds of the military classes were exercised over the Formosa outrages and they were stung to madness by a defiant and insulting Korean letter which upbraided Japan for having adopted Western civilization. The ex-Samurai clamored for war, the invasion of Korea, the chastisement of the Formosan savages and the immediate formation of a national assembly.

To all these projects Iwakura and those who thought with him were totally opposed. Impressed with the unity of the American republic, now no longer merely federal but truly national, and with the strength of the central authority at Washington, Iwakura and his colleagues believed that all immediate efforts should be in the direction of consolidation.

After many interviews among themselves the debate was adjourned and held before the Emperor. The master mind throughout was that of Okubo, who showed that to go to war with Korea at such a time was simply to play into the hands of Russia. When Mutsuhito vetoed the war scheme, five of his Ministers, Saigo, Soyéshima, Goto, Itagaki and Eto resigned.

Terashima, Okubo, Ito and Katsu took the vacant places, but violent agitation among the old clansmen followed. It eventuated that the Formosan expedition, made up chiefly of Satsuma men, slipped off without orders and Iwakura's life was attempted by assassins. It was at this time that I learned much directly concerning the Emperor's personal life from Katsu Awa. This great man was the representative of both the old and the new Japan, the link between feudalism and the return to modern nationality, and the unwavering believer in mind and reason as being above the sword and brute force. He told me much concerning the personality and daily habits of the Emperor and the conduct of men of all parties and offices. At certain times in these awful crises, some, often most of the Ministers absented themselves from the Council Board. There was in more than one instance a terrible wavering between the old clan instinct, with its personal loves and hates, hopes and fears, and loyalty to the new Government, so that hon-

est men were often at their wit's end what to do or advise. Such ordeals did but develop the moral fibre of the young Mikado. They made him a judge of men and gave him the power of impartial and quick judgment, fitting him to be, also, a consummate master of conciliation.

The Empress in July visited the silk reeling factory at Tomioka, where, under French superintendents, elaborate and effective machinery had been introduced to reel silk from cocoons. This was a great change from the old way of melting the shrouds of the grubs in hot water heated in an iron pot over a charcoal fire, picking out the cue with the fingers, and then reeling by hand the strands on a little wooden frame. In Japanese mythology the method was even more primitive. The goddess who created the silkworms put the cocoons in her mouth and thence spun out the silvery threads. In this century it is a worm that supplies out of its bowels the largest item of the wealth of Japan in exports. The Emperor and Empress together visited also the model farm and nurseries under the care of the American, General Horace Capron. Late in December they saw the docks at Yokosuka.

The new year of 1874 at the capital was ushered in at midnight by a great mountain of fire, streaked with iridescence of many hues, that seemed to rise up in the southern part of the city. The torch had been applied by some enemy of the

Government, perhaps some fanatic Buddhist priest of the great Buddhist temple of Zozoji, in Shiba, in revenge for its official "purification" in the interests of Shinto.

The old clansmen, hereditary guardians of the sword of Japan, "the living soul of the Samurai," still held the idea that they could act independently of the Government, or force it to declare war, notwithstanding that the resources of the country had been already strained to the utmost. They first attempted to assassinate Iwakura, whom they wounded. The intending assassins were caught and beheaded.

Reckless men proceeded still further in the bad old way of the *ronin*. In Hizen, at Saga, a band of rioters assaulted the local bank and levied on the rich farmers and merchants, with the idea of providing funds for an expedition to Korea. Soon it was known in Tokyo that Eto Shimpéi, the late Minister, was at the head of the rebellion.

Not a moment was to be lost, or the fires of insurrection would spread rapidly. The Mikado at once ordered Okubo, with Admiral Ito and General Nodzu, and backed by ships and men, to deal with the crisis. This they did quickly. Steam and electricity make history short. The castle at Saga had been stormed, but the Imperial mind was speedily relieved by a telegram from Okubo, announcing surrender on the one hand and victory on the other. Eto fled, but was soon dis-

covered. He had feathered the shafts for his own destruction. When Minister of Justice in Tokyo he had introduced the custom of making the faces of criminals known by photography. By means of his own portrait, widely distributed, he was quickly recognized, seized and beheaded.

The Formosan Expedition was "a combination of enterprises which, whatever their consequences, would have attracted a far greater attention and a more vivid interest than any previous event of modern times." It meant nothing less than the invasion of Formosa and of Korea, and long preparation had been made with this end in view. The invaders believed that even the conquest of China was possible.

In suppressing the Saga rebellion the loyalty of the new national army was thoroughly tested, and the resources of the nation both in men and money were strained. Had the uprising been reinforced by Satsuma, it would have made a question of life or death for the Government. There is little doubt that many of the veteran soldiers disliked the idea of fighting the insurgents in Saga, because their object was what all the Samurai had at heart, namely, the invasion of Korea. To satisfy both Satsuma and the army, it was given out that the Mikado would order an expedition to Formosa as soon as his authority was vindicated in Hizen.

As planned by the Government, the Formosa

Expedition was finely organized. Diplomatically, the Japanese had the unchallenged right of way. Everything was done after previous agreement with China. The Peking mandarins had furnished a map of Formosa, showing what parts of the island, the northern end and western half, were subject to Chinese jurisdiction. The southeastern tip was the portion which the Japanese were to enter and occupy temporarily. This was divided from the Chinese domain by almost impassable mountain barriers, which the aboriginal savages used as fastnesses. On the western slopes the native head hunters were accustomed to reap their periodical harvests of Chinese heads, easily carried, when cut off, by their hair handles, or queues. On the sea coast these Butans got what they could from frequent shipwrecks.

A British and an American steamer were chartered to carry the Japanese marines and infantry, together with a large contingent of laborers, besides tools and materials for making roads and building temporary shelters. Excellent equipment for attention to the wounded and the thirsty was provided, for the Japanese, above all people, believe in plenty of pure water. General T. Saigo, the younger brother of Marshal Saigo of 1868, was appointed to command. Three experienced American officers, one of the United States Navy, one of the Engineer Corps, and

General Le Gendre were, by permission of the State Department in Washington, permitted to accompany the Japanese. Mr. Edward H. House was to go as correspondent. He was under the patronage of Okuma, and later wrote the history of the expedition.

Most unexpectedly, when everything was ready, the foreign diplomatists in Tokyo intermeddled most foolishly. They stirred up such a protest, with predictions of risk and ruin, that the expedition was very much disarranged and the whole matter became very complicated; for the Chinese Government, which had hitherto been complacent, suddenly assumed a hostile front. Nevertheless the expedition sailed, and Okubo was sent with full powers to Peking.

In Formosa the Japanese built roads, erected huts, and had some little fighting in the bamboo jungles. After chastising the savages they secured from the chiefs the promise of good treatment of shipwrecked people upon their shores. While the Mikado's captains gained experience in handling an army clothed and armed in Western style, it was evident that they had not wholly mastered modern military methods. It was like some of the first English experiments in colonization. There were, in the force ashore, too many gentlemen, and almost as many laborers as soldiers. The total loss of life, chiefly through disease and exposure, was about seven hundred.

The bodies of the dead were brought to Nagasaki, and, under Government auspices, buried in what is now one of the national cemeteries. The final issue of all was that the Peking authorities recognized the Formosan Expedition as just and rightful, promising that if the Japanese would evacuate the island China would pay indemnity for expenses, to the amount of 400,000 taels. The pamphlet written by Mr. E. H. House contains an accurate chronicle of this enterprise.

Thus "all was settled, and once more Japan held up her head as a leader in paths of humanity, a fearless actor in the rôle she marked out for herself, in spite of whatever influences might be brought against her."

It was this vacillating and unjust conduct of China in her dealings with Japan, both in regard to the Formosans and the Riu Kiuan matters, that fixed the Japanese in their determination to strike hard at China when the opportunity should come, as it did come twenty years later. Meanwhile their respect for the foreign diplomatists in Tokyo was not raised by the shortsighted meddlesomeness of these gentlemen.

The Emperor was much interested in the transit of Venus across the sun, which took place December 9, 1874, and his Ministers and learned men cooperated warmly with the scientific observers sent out from America, France and Mexico. On Palace Hill (Goten-yama) for-

merly garrisoned by Echizen's troops, the former chief of the Survey Department, with Dr. David Murray, observed the phenomenon, the latter showing upon a screen the movement of the planet across the greater disc. In Yokohama a lithographed illustrated newspaper, very witty, very humorous and always mirth provoking, published from time to time by Mr. Wirgman, of the *London Illustrated News,* as *The Japan Punch,* treated the theme in allegory. A striking cartoon, entitled "The Transit of Venus, as Observed from Peking," brought "lunar politics" to the earth. China was represented as a lazy lady, heavy with excess of adipose, who, after a moment's gaze at the sky, turns over upon her *kang* for more sleep, while across the sun's disc is seen moving the glorious figure of the Japanese Venus, lovely Yamato, slim and lithe, bearing the sun flag of victory.

Mutsuhito profited by the popularity gained by the Formosan affair so far as to take two steps further in national evolution. He created a high tribunal of justice, or ultimate court of appeal, in all cases both civil and criminal. By establishing, also, the *Genroin,* or Senate, a body of men that shaped the national policy and legislation not only in 1874 but for some years to come, and even to 1912, the Emperor prepared the way for the Upper House of the National Legislature of the future. Mutsuhito's chief problem was that of harnessing new power.

The year of 1875 was notable for the development of the press, which served again to reveal how large was the amount of unemployed brain power, not yet healthily utilized, among the Samurai. Newspapers sprang up in every province. The editors, being mostly Samurai, were excessively free in their utterances, especially in their personal criticisms of high officers of the Government. Exchanging the sword for the pen, these doughty knights, as dangerous with the feather as with the steel, strove to make the new weapon even mightier in offence than the older one. Was it a new illustration of Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes's dictum concerning that shortening of weapons which lengthens boundaries? When one newspaper published a memorial demanding that, besides modifying its policy, the Government should behead the Prime Minister, the law for the regulation of the press was put in force, and the jails were soon crowded.

In the course of the next ten years hundreds of editors were sent to prison. At times, room could not be found for the peccant penmen, because there were always jaunty warriors willing to step into the places of those who were behind bars. Soon the supply of figureheads ready to-day to stand as dummies for Government prosecution, and to-morrow to board at the public expense, created an embarrassment of riches. Then more faithful study was given to the

memorial, which had been presented by Verbeck, in the early '70s, on "The Freedom of the Press." In this masterly document the man who had won the confidence of the Japanese showed them the path, out of sword rule and prison coercion, into the more excellent way of regulated freedom.

CHAPTER XXV

THE MIKADO'S NORTHERN JOURNEY

In the consolidation of his Empire Mutsuhito found it necessary to rectify the frontiers, as well as to define sovereignty over the outlying northern portions. He sent Enomoto as his envoy to the court of the Czar to negotiate concerning Saghalien, which the Japanese and Russians had jointly occupied. It resulted that the sub-arctic island was given to Russia to make into a prison, while all the Kurile Islands (the Smokers), of which half had been claimed by Russia, became an integral part of Dai Nippon.

The Bonin (No Man's) Islands, called Arzobispo by the Spanish voyagers to Manila, visited by Dutch and other earlier navigators, and later by Parry, Coffin, Beech, Perry and others, and colonized in 1830 by a mixed company from Hawaii, were also taken under the Mikado's direct rule.

Steadily the Japanese regained their old mastery of the seas, for which they had been famed throughout Asia. As early as 1827 a vessel on the foreign model had been built, but not used. A steamer, made by native mechanics taught by

Dutchmen, had been launched at Nagasaki in 1851, and in 1860 Katsu Awa had navigated a steamship across the Pacific to San Francisco. The Daimios had bought steamers on private account and the Government owned a few steam war vessels. Mercantile companies were formed for the coasting trade. One of them, the National Mail Steamship Company of Japan, fell to pieces for lack of mutual confidence and common honesty in its interior organization. Another company, called the Mitsu Bishi, or Three Diamonds, impressed by the superior integrity of its foreign agents, borrowed their methods and personnel. Securing the Government mail contracts, they also bought out the Pacific Mail Company, in part, securing the coast trade and plying to Shanghai, carrying the Sun Flag farther out on the seas. Surveying and the making of charts had already been begun in the Navy Department.

In 1873 the postal service was grandly developed. Hitherto the inland transit of mail matter had been by means of the naked runner, clothed only in a loin cloth and head kerchief. Carrying a bamboo pole over his shoulder, with a letter stuck in the split end, the postman whizzed across the country. The foreign residents had their own postoffices, English, French, and American. On Japanese soil these were an offence to the Mikado and his advisers. They could not bear the idea of having aliens do a work which

belonged to the Imperial Government. Having now an improved postal service, they aimed at the control of the whole system within their boundaries and applied first to the United States. An expert, Mr. Samuel W. Bryan, was secured from Washington. He helped mightily to develop that system of transit and administration at home and abroad which is now one of the finest in the world.

By degrees the Samurai, or hereditary swordsmen of the Empire, were absorbed into the mass of the people. Thousands remained in the army, almost as many more became policemen, and myriads gained their rice as servants of the Government. The modern institutions of the press, the medical, engineering and legal professions absorbed many more. Almost to a man, the Christian workers, teachers and preachers sprang from this cultured class, while hundreds found employment as translators, interpreters and teachers, a fact which accounts for the highly intellectual leaven and that notable spirit of independence and self-help in the churches of reformed Christianity. The Russo-Greek church was recruited largely from people of the Aidzu and other northern clans.

The Government, anticipating a recrudescence of the cry "On to Korea," as soon as the Formosan matter was settled took the initiative, to win if possible a peace victory.

Since the days of Taiko there had been at Fusan, in Korea, in a space of about 140 acres, a little settlement of Japanese who were shut up very much as were the Dutchmen on Déshima, at Nagasaki. One nobleman, ruling from Tsushima, held the monopoly of Korean trade and grew rich at the business. Musuhito ordered his resident agent, Moriyama, to secure, if possible, a treaty with the Government at Seoul.

Meanwhile, in September, 1872, the officers of the *Unyo,* a Japanese gunboat, while at survey work at the mouth of the river leading up to Seoul, were mistaken, in their new costume, for Europeans, and were fired upon by armed Koreans on Kokwa island. Next day the Japanese marines, only thirty-two in number, made an assault, stormed the fort and, after the usual loot, hoisted their flag, set the buildings on fire and came away.

When the news reached Japan the war party expected instant orders of invasion, but newspaper discussion showed that public sentiment was against such a course. Taking a hint from President Fillmore, the Mikado at once ordered to Korea a fleet of no fewer than eight men-of-war and transports under General Kuroda. The envoy, Inouyé, borrowing from the American Minister, Mr. Bingham, a copy of Bayard Taylor's book on Japan, refreshed his memory as to the Yankee Commodore's details. Mr. Mori,

formerly Japanese Minister to Washington, was sent to Peking to get, if possible, China's good will. Kuroda, following almost exactly the American tactics ordered by President Fillmore with Japan in 1852—reliance on force for show, but on tact to win—enlarged his apparent armament by painting holes on merchant ships, making them look like men-of-war.

With patience and skill the Japanese envoys were entirely successful. A treaty of peace and friendship, wonderfully like that which the Americans made with the Japanese in 1854, having in it even the extraterritorial clause, was signed on February 20, and the squadron returned with colors apeak. Again was Mutsuhito worthy of his name: the Peace Maker.

Another of the centers of friction in the national machinery had been removed; for the Korean question, in its old form, was now as dead as the proverbial door nail. Again, improving the opportunity, the Government prohibited the wearing of swords. None but military, naval and police officers, or gentlemen in Court dress, could wear a weapon. Permission to disarm had become compulsion. The girded sword being "the living soul of the Samurai," these gentry were now as "soulless," so far as fighting tools were concerned, as ordinary mortals.

To the proffer of the olive leaf the Koreans responded by sending an embassy, which proved

to be a greater object lesson to the Japanese than they could have imagined. No embassy like this had visited the capital of Japan for more than 230 years. The hermits appeared in padded and baggy white clothes, and with baggage of an uninviting appearance, the large horn rimmed spectacles of the chief envoy suggesting vast sapience. Dressed in a robe of violet colored crape, and carried on a chair covered with a tiger's skin, this fine looking man was perched on an open litter borne by nine men. His band of musicians, consisting of fourteen players, clothed in garments of as many hues, made most distressful music, which caused hilarious laughter among the Japanese. They played on trumpets, flageolets, flutes, cymbals, conch shells and tom-toms. The two pages, bare headed and with their hair plaited in queue, carried boxes. Their sex was a puzzle, but as unmarried young men, they were correctly arrayed and coifed in the Korean fashion, that is, exactly like the pages in the old Imperial court in medieval Kyoto. Attendants bore staves of office, spears and flags, and there were four gorgeously dressed men, of evidently higher rank, with many followers. All had on broad brimmed horsehair hats, ornamented with peacock's feathers and tassels, and tied under the chin by strings of large amber beads. The procession, though no doubt intended to add to the

dignity of the embassage, only provoked jokes and jeers.

These Koreans wre nearly all tall, good looking specimens of humanity, giving the impression that the peninsulars were a fine, large race of men, "devoted to Confucianism, dirt, and the most distracting music." Altogether it was an elaborate and spectacular anchronism, but it did the Japanese good. It was history's mirror.

After audience of the Mikado the chief envoys spent some days examining things foreign and native. They visited various places and then went to the Strand Palace to see *dakiu,* or polo, played, a game in vogue in Japan for several hundred years past. On the present occasion several high officers of the Cabinet took part. The inhabitants of the capital, forgetting their usual politeness, openly made merry over the uncouthness and strangeness of the visitors. In their newspapers and comic journals they were more than facetious; they were grossly insulting. The Tokyo folks were illustrating their own proverb, *Kiyo ni mo, inaka:* "There are boors even in the capital." The British editor of the *Japan Mail* was moved to declare that "a press which had not yet travelled beyond the stage on which we find that of Japan would do well to put off some of its own soiled linen before making remarks about its neighbor's wardrobe."

The Emperor had long intended to visit the

northern and poorer parts of his dominions, and those least under the influence of the capital. His desire was to consolidate the nation. With other political ends in view, the Government encouraged the Mikado to take this journey, which was devised in part to avoid calling together the long promised National Parliament.

The Imperial progress began on June 2. All the villages and towns were gaily decorated, and the line of route to Nikko was crowded with people, all eager to catch a glimpse of their beloved Emperor. The country people as a rule took off their shoes, or rather stepped out of their clogs and sandals, and voluntarily prostrated themselves, as their sovereign passed by. Like a true Father of His Country, Mutsuhito wished that traffic along the public roads should be interrupted as little as possible. He made many inquiries of each of the prefects, and reviewed his soldiers in each place, giving money not only to erect memorial shrines to those slain in the war of 1868, but also to keep in repair the tombs of celebrated scholars.

In the course of this journey the Emperor received news of the death of his daughter, the infant Princess Plum Blossom (Umé No Miya). He sent a message of condolence "to the Empress" and the party rested a few days.

This incident leads us to look at the record of Mutsuhito's offspring. His first child, born to

the Emperor by Madame Hamuro Mitsuko, September 18, 1873, died on the same day.

A princess, by Madame Hashimoto Natsuko, born on November 13, 1873, died on the same day. His third child, by Madame Yanagiwara Aiko, named Shigko Umé No Miya, was born January 21, 1875, and died on June 8, 1876, as above stated. The same Imperial concubine gave birth, on September 23, 1877, to a son, Yukihito, who was named heir apparent, but died July 26, 1878. This same lady became the mother of the third son of the Emperor, Yoshihito, born August 31, 1879, who became heir to the Throne and Crown Prince, and on July 31, 1912, Emperor of Japan, his inauguration being appointed for November 10, 1915.

Five more daughters were born to the Emperor between August 3, 1881, and November 30, 1893, of whom three died. Of two of them Madame Shigosa Kagako was the mother. Madame Sono Yoshiko gave birth to two sons and two daughters, of whom two daughters, now married, are living.

Most of the localities renowned in the classics are in central Japan. The Moor of Hasu, one of the largest plains in the Empire, was one of the few places in the north made famous in poem, song or drama. Dreadful tales had long been told of travellers lost in storms, or led to grief or death through the malevolent agency of the

spirits that dwell in the fox and the badger in this desolate region. Here was located the scene of the classic comedy or opera entitled "The Death Stone," in which the spirit of the Flawless Jewel Maiden (a demon spirit from India, in female form, who had nearly brought to death the Mikado Toba) is exorcised and "laid" by the prayers of the Buddhist priest Genno. Mutsuhito, being familiar with the opera of the Death Stone, richly enjoyed looking upon the scenery made classic in medieval literature, which he traversed on the 12th.

Most pleasing to the eye was the beautiful plain of Sambongi. The Emperor was delighted to learn the story of its fertility. The whole tract, a century or so before, was a sandy, barren moor, sparsely inhabited by poor people who had become degenerate because of the sterility of the region. With only the rudest instruments, a straw rope for a surveying chain, and without even a spirit level, Tsuto Nitobé, aided by his father, tunneled two ranges of mountains and led the waters of a river through them, a distance of ten miles. Nature and man thus transformed a desert into a fertile plain.

This wonderful piece of engineering is gratefully commemorated, in two stones inscribed to the benefactor's grandfather, the great-grandfather of Dr. Inazo Nitobé, the accomplished author of "Bushido: the Soul of Japan," and lec-

turer in six American universities in 1912. The Emperor spent a night in the Nitobé home, and leaving a memento of his favor, desired that the family should continue in similar lines of effort. The oldest son was already studying civil engineering, and in consequence of the wish expressed by Mutsuhito the youngest son, Inazo, decided to make agricultural development his life work.

During this year the college at Sapporo in Yezo, with a staff of American instructors, was opened for the training of a body of men who could develop according to scientific methods the mines and rich valleys of that hitherto almost unknown part of the Empire. Inazo Nitobé entered in the class of 1877. Later he studied history and political economy at Johns Hopkins University, writing for his thesis the well known monograph "Intercourse Between the United States and Japan." In 1905 he engaged in the development of Formosa.

The Emperor rode over the rough northern roads on horseback, escorted through each prefecture by its governor, and always met by the local magistrates on the borders. As the Emperor walked about, the lower class of people carefully gathered up the soil on which the Imperial feet had stepped, believing that earth thus consecrated would cure diseases.

During the whole journey the proprietors of

the different hotels kept with great reverence whatever articles His Majesty had used. In some cases these were stored up in the temples, the priests of which are usually the custodians of all articles of interest. These became the seed of educational collections, even as European museums grew up out of the curiosity rooms and reliquaries of monasteries.

At Shirakawa, noted for the breeding of horses, about fifteen hundred of the animals had been gathered for the Emperor's inspection, and the public school children, the boys in foreign costume and the girls in their own pretty native dress, welcomed their sovereign. Mutsuhito also visited the site of the former castle of the Daimio, finding the interior space wholly given up to agriculture, a type of the national change from feudalism to industrialism.

On the 14th His Majesty in his carriage passed through several towns, along the main streets of which the children of the public schools, dressed in their gayest clothes, were waiting to receive him. At night the firemen, turning out in great force, made a demonstration of their prowess and skill. At Tsukagawa the great September horse fair was held earlier this year, for the Imperial delectation. Of the six hundred or more animals gathered together, most were sold by auction in presence of the Mikado, who enjoyed the spirited competition of the horse dealers. On the 16th

His Majesty crossed a plain which had recently been waste land, but which now, reclaimed, brought forth good crops. The Emperor summoned to his presence several farmers and told them how happy he was to see such improvement.

On the 17th at Nihon-Matsu the Emperor visited the silk reeling establishment, learning the process and leaving a present of fifty *yen* for the workmen employed there. The old castle area, now wholly given up to this industry, furnished a striking proof that the age of war, of feudalism and of division was over and that the era of peace, industry and national unity had come.

In Fukushima the Emperor took up his quarters at the college to remain until the 22nd. The ruler of all Japan, true Father of His People, asked some searching questions of the prefects of three *ken*. On the 21st the silver mines of Handa were visited and the workings on the foreign method examined.

The most famous city of northern Japan, and now a centre of Christian education, Sendai, was reached on the 24th, the troops in garrison being drawn up to receive their sovereign. Here the visits and receptions consumed several days. The Emperor looked upon the relics of Daté Masamuné, lord of Sendai (1566-1636), who had once sent his retainer Hashikura (1561-1622) and an embassy to Europe, by way of Mexico, to inquire into Western civilization and religion. The en-

voy, baptized in the Christian faith at Madrid, under Philip III. was absent eight years, his portrait being there painted as a European monk. These most interesting memorials are now in the museum in Tokyo. The Emperor received an address of welcome from the members of the Greek Church, which he accepted graciously. It was from this city that in June, 1905, the people, heartily appreciative of the educational influence of the American missionaries, sent an ancient sword and other presents to President Roosevelt.

The last part of the journey had to be made on horseback or in *norimono,* because the wretched apologies for roads would not then admit of carriages. His Majesty looked with interest upon the ancient temple of Chuzenji and its relics. Despite the rains, he kept on to Morioka, which he left on the 7th of July, riding through a barren and uninhabited country. At Awomori he witnessed the horse races.

On the 16th of July the Imperial party crossed over the Straits of Tsugaru, spending several days at Hakodaté, whence His Majesty and attendants embarked on a man-of-war, the *Méiji Maru,* for Tokyo, arriving at Yokohama July 20.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE NEW MIKADOISM TESTED

Having looked upon his native land from one end to the other, Mutsuhito felt that his hand was now powerful enough to signalize his mastery of the whole situation by two bold strokes of power. His one aim was to unify the nation by curtailing privilege above and uplifting the masses from below. On August 5 he issued the decree extinguishing the hereditary pensions and life incomes of the Samurai. Sixteen days afterward he ordered a reduction in the number of prefectures from sixty-eight to thirty-five, thus diminishing the army of salaried servants of the Government by one-half.

In old Japan, virtually the land of a single tax, almost the only people regularly forced to pay the expenses of the Government were the farmers. Even under the new régime three-fourths of the total national revenue was drawn from the land tax. A reduction from three to two and a half per cent. meant a loss to the treasury of $8,000,000. This loss was to be made good through economy in administration, by lessening to a minimum both the number of Government

functionaries and their salaries. This relief of the agricultural classes, who aggregate three-fourths of the people, was a truly national blessing, meaning grief to a few thousands and joy to many millions. The measure, executed about Christmas, 1876, was destined in the long run to benefit the whole population and bring nearer that happy time when the Imperial prerogative should be "broad based upon the people's will."

These reforms, actual and prospective, were not to be accomplished without protest and bloodshed; and the severest test of the new system was yet to come. Japan had no representative system, nor a free press. Hence the old possessors of hereditary privileges could not at once comprehend what was going on. Not a few of them thought that the Emperor was virtually a prisoner in the Tokyo Castle, the tool of a few designing and selfish men. To see the Divine Country defiled by aliens, the grand old institutions decaying, and the ancient landmarks of their faith swept away, their swords put under ban, Christianity tolerated and democracy in prospect, was too much. To give expression to their convictions that their Mikado was held in bondage by bad counsellors they formed clubs, named after the Divine Breath, that six centuries before had swept away the Mongol barbarians. They raised the cry, "Drive the foreigners into the sea." Yet their only idea of reform was to "reverence

the Mikado"—by having their own way. They determined to assassinate the Tokyo office-holders, get hold of the sacred person, and then issue laws or reactionary edicts in his name.

So, after long brooding over fancied wrongs, these men donned helmets and armor, drew their swords and rushed like bulls at a locomotive advancing under full head of steam on well laid rails. The interesting collision was soon an event in history.

The results could have been easily foretold, when in October, 1876, at Kumamoto the reactionaries rose and attacked the Imperial garrison, for the day of telegraphs, steam, electricity, repeating rifles and modern cannon had come. Japan was a body politic, with a new nervous system. No men encased in the old shells of civilization, however brave, could compete with equally valorous men equipped with new forces and weapons. By Christmas day everything was quiet and the rebellion annihilated. The aftermath was seen in hundreds of cases of *hara-kiri,* or decapitation, exile and degradation.

The last days of 1876 were marked by intense activity on the part of the Emperor, who met his councillors almost daily in the Senate (*Genroin*), devising methods of reform for the rebuilding of the nation. After the usual autumnal crop of rustic uprisings had been reaped, a cloud was noticed rising in the southwest. The sullen and

reactionary clansmen of Satsuma, the one portion of the Empire unassimilated to the life of progressive Japan, were preparing to defy the authority of the central Government. In old times this clan had been able to overawe and terrify the Yedo authorities. Now there were many ominous signs that the Satsuma men imagined themselves able to do the same thing with the new Government. Under the direction of the elder Saigo the young men of the province were, almost in a body, in attendance upon the private schools and under daily military drill. Mutsuhito ordered the powder from the mills near the city of Kagoshima to be removed, and for this purpose one of the national vessels was sent thither. Meanwhile the Emperor and his chief counsellors went to Kobé to attend the opening of the new railway to Kyoto.

Hardly had the Imperial party arrived when the news came that the removal of the powder had been resisted and on January 29 the Satsuma clansmen had broken into the arsenal, removed the arms and ammunition and had even tried to stop the transport steamer.

Power of secrecy is the Japanese armor of proof. Grave as was this piece of news, the Ministers decided not to postpone the opening of the railway or to make public the news. After the ceremonies and gaiety Admiral Kawamura was sent in the Mikado's steam yacht, the fastest

vessel of the navy, to conciliate, if possible, Saigo and his fellow clansmen, but upon his arrival at Kagoshima on the 9th, the Admiral found the whole body of Samurai armed and in revolt. A vile report, that the Tokyo Government had planned to assassinate Saigo, had acted like a spark upon gunpowder. Skilfully avoiding a conflict, which might have made impossible any hope of peace, Kawamura, after interviews with the city governor, steamed out of the bay and telegraphed from the nearest station the startling facts.

All doubt as to whether Saigo, the military leader and hero of the Restoration, was personally concerned with the uprising was soon dissolved. He had organized his followers into companies and regiments and was marching to attack Kumamoto Castle. The garrison at this place was under command of Colonel Tani, and Oyama, destined to be Field Marshal in Manchuria, was a lieutenant under him. Saigo and his generals, dressed in the uniforms they had worn in the Imperial army, professed to be loyal to the Emperor, Saigo acting as the Mikado's commander-in-chief of the land forces, with the view of going to Tokyo "on a peaceful and lawful errand." In its nature this was exactly that of Kéiki, who set out from Osaka in 1868 to reenter Kyoto in force, to "drive out the bad counsellors of the young Emperor." Appearing before the

Kumamoto Castle, Saigo began a siege lasting fifty-five days.

As Mutsuhito saw the situation, it was this: The ablest military genius in Japan was at the head of a host of brave men, all passionately loyal fellow clansmen and many of them veterans, well drilled, equipped and disciplined, with artillery. With thousands of others, all over the Empire, they were devoted to the ideas of the old school and ready to follow their leader to the death. In their minds Saigo was the shining exponent of the ancient virtues of Bushido.

On the other hand was a new and untried army of raw troops, composed largely of peasant lads. These, like their ancestors, peaceful laborers during centuries, had been overawed by the sword-bearing gentry, who looked down with supreme contempt upon them as inferiors. It was now to be seen whether the spirit of unconquerable Japan belonged to the nation at large or was only the prerogative of the gentry.

The Mikado at once proclaimed martial law in Kiushiu, ordered his ships to blockade the ports, despatched the flower of the new national army southward, armed the municipal police, raised fresh levies of conscripts, put Prince Arisugawa again in supreme command and sent Generals Yamagata (afterward Field Marshal in China) and Kawaji, the *oni* or "demon" (who allowed the massacre at Port Arthur in 1895) in

command of two divisions to inclose the rebels in a cordon. In July Tsukumichi Saigo, younger brother of the arch rebel, but loyal to the Mikado, took the field. Nogi, later hero of Port Arthur, was active. The loss of his regimental standard in battle was mourned over by him during thirty-five years, and was in 1912 given by him as the fundamental reason for his committing suicide.

The uprising soon took in nearly all Kiushiu, and an exceedingly bloody civil war began. Although Saigo's men were armed with modern rifles, they clung with fanatical affection to their ancestral weapon, the two handed sword, and in most of the battles they preferred the old style of fighting. Their favorite method of attack was much like that of the Highlanders with their claymores, at Culloden. Their idea was to neutralize the rifle ball, to dash aside the bayonet thrust with a shield, and then to ply their double-handed swords when they had broken up the ranks of the foe. Instead, however, of "brazen studs and tough bull hide," each Satsuma swordsman, utilizing his girdle, bound together two of the thick *tatami,* or rice straw mats, with which every Japanese house floor is covered. Holding before them in their left hand these light, double cushions of thickly braided straw, five, six or eight inches thick, they rushed against the enemy, often with terrific effect, as the awful sword wounds on the new peasant soldiers showed. Many a time

they thus worsted the Imperial infantry. Even the women performed prodigies of valor. Soon the list of casualties on the royal side numbered over six thousand. The Government was obliged to call to its service, at high wages, from Aidzu and other quarters, the expert fencers and veteran clansmen, who had old scores to settle with Satsuma. Then the duels with cold steel went on to sure decision of the issue.

What was thought at the time to be the concluding battle was fought on August 16, in an old natural stronghold at Nobéoka, when victory perched on the Mikado's brocade banner. It was supposed that peace had come, and most of the Imperial troops were withdrawn. The next piece of news was that the Satsuma leaders, escaping into Hiuga and dashing out again, on September 2, had seized Kagoshima, holding it for two weeks.

When driven out of the city they were surrounded, at Nobéoka, on September 24, by 15,000 Imperialists, who fired at long range so that not one of the Mikado's soldiers was injured. About four hundred proud upholders of the lost cause, armed only with their blades and surrounded by a wall of fire, were all slain, or committed *hara-kiri*. It is believed that Saigo, refusing to surrender or be taken prisoner, sought the extermination of his band in order to die by opening his bowels in the ancient manner.

Brave as he was, Saigo and his leaders were unregenerate Bushi and to him Bushido meant the irreformable and ferocious traditions of insular feudalism. He could not come into the new world of ideas. He had led more than forty thousand men to battle, of whom more than 11,000 were killed or wounded. On the other side was an equal number of dead or maimed men, the majority of wounds being from sword cuts.

It was clear that the spirit animating the Samurai had descended upon the *hei-min* or commoners. The army, recruited from the plain people, had shown itself in heroism second to none in Japan's history, and was unconsciously rehearsing for the Chinese continental war of 1894, which was to annihilate the drilled soldiers of China and astonish the world. The prelude to the humbling of Russia was in Kiushiu in 1877, a training school for 1904.

The new age had come, and with it new ideas. In the Emperor's gracious clemency, only twenty persons were beheaded, and these for special crimes. Out of over 38,000 persons tried, more than 35,000 were pardoned. There were fines, degradations and sentences of imprisonment with hard labor for fewer than 2,000, while nearly 300 were acquitted.

Mutsuhito and his Ministers decided that, except the religious and memorial celebrations, there should be no public demonstrations in the capital

nor any sign of triumph or exultation. Accordingly, without any notice of their arrival, with no pageantry or decoration, the victorious regiments marched quietly to their barracks. Yet intensely eloquent and dramatic, in its very silence, was the appearance of these peasant soldiers with their bayonets nicked, bent or broken, showing how these had crossed with the swords of Samurai in deadly combat and had won. To the commander-in-chief and the generals decorations of jewels were awarded, and the ceremonies of *Shokon* (greeting the spirits), memorial services in honor of the loyal slain, were appointed for November 14.

The total number of national troops employed in suppressing the Satsuma uprising was over 65,000, including 7,000 police and four battalions of artillery, with forty-eight guns; but not over 40,000 were at any one time in Kiushiu. The utmost strength of Saigo, at any one time, never exceeded 22,000 men. Peculiar to the Japanese is the general employment of laborers to assist the soliders and do much work which in other armies is done by the fighting men themselves. As the War Department paid for 12,856,700 days work of laborers, there must have been 50,000 laborers occupied daily during the period of the rebellion. Seventeen men-of-war, with fifty-eight guns and 1,500 men, were constantly employed in the duties of blockade, transport or bombardment.

The loss in the national army was 6,399 killed and 10,523 wounded; and of the rebels 7,000 killed and 11,000 wounded, many of whom died of their wounds. From these causes, together with disease, exposure and injury, probably not fewer than 50,000 natives lost their lives on account of this rebellion. Perhaps as many houses, of an average value of $40, were destroyed. The cost of vindicating the national authority was at least $50,000,000.

Besides nature's "oblivion of flowers," trade and industry do their part in mantling old scenes of wrath with new associations of brotherhood. The National Industrial Exposition, in the grounds and on the old battle field of Uyéno, in Tokyo from August 21 to November 30, 1877, and in every way successful, ministered to peace and national unity. In 1914, on the same site, an exhibition celebrating the accession of the new Mikado and the era of Tai-Sho, or Great Righteousness, was held.

CHAPTER XXVII

POLITICAL STRUGGLE AND EVOLUTION

A decade of the new order of things had passed when the year 1877 ended. A Government made up of an irresponsible Ministry stood between the Emperor and the people. Intelligent young men out of office were making great strides in political knowledge. Hundreds of them, educated in the United States, the greatest school of self government in the world, by their writings, lectures, translations and public addresses were making the people all over the country familiar not only with the right ideas of government but with the unpleasant fact that the Emperor had not yet fulfilled his promise of 1868, to form a representative National Assembly. They kept on agitating this one subject in the newspapers and sent up frequent memorials to the Imperial Ministers.

An old oracle in the Island of the Four Provinces declared that "liberty shall yet flow out of the mountains of Tosa," and the Tosa men, led by Itagaki, were particularly active in political discussion. By the year 1877 they had become a distinctly formed political party, with a frankly expressed ideal of government in Japan, that of

the English people. Although opposed to the irresponsible Ministry in Tokyo, Itagaki, their leader, refused all recourse to arms, believing only in peaceable means. In July, 1877, he sent a most elaborate memorial to the Mikado, showing why the Imperial oath of 1868 should be made good. Eight of the nine reasons were direct impeachments of the Government.

Occupied with the suppression of the rebellion in the southwestern provinces, the Ministers could pay little attention to this memorial at the time, but soon, according to the time honored precedent, the sword, that "lightning flash in the darkness," revealed to the Ministerial mind the crisis of danger. Assassination, as usual in Old Japan, ushered in a new era. Bushido, the Knightly Code, was to be again exemplified in vengeance and mutual martyrdom.

Okubo, the victim selected, and one of the most brilliant and handsome men in the group nearest the Emperor, was the typical statesman of the New Japan. He saw what was needed to lift his country out of feudalism and to make the nation the equal of any in the world. His very eagerness to fulfil a noble purpose blinded him to the dangers inherent in a centralized form of government, which he and like minded men believed to be of the first necessity.

The protestants in Satsuma, Tosa and Kaga looked upon him, however, as an enemy to public

discussion and popular rights. They murdered him on the morning of May 14, 1878, as the carriage of the Minister drew near the Imperial Palace. With his head cloven, one hand severed and the body cut and stabbed in many places, lying near the reddened swords used by the six assassins, the corpse of Okubo was found by his friend, General T. Saigo. The unquailing exponents of egotism and of Bushido had voluntarily surrendered themselves, a few minutes before, to the guard at the gate of the Imperial Palace, calmly acknowledging what they had done. Faithful, in every jot and tittle, to the old orthodoxy of feudalism, each man carried on his body a writing in vindication of his motive and purpose.

Mutsuhito never showed more clearly his true spirit, his invincible purpose and his own high personal appreciation of Okubo than by at once conferring upon his dead servant the highest rank, elevating the sons of Okubo to the nobility, and ordering a funeral of imposing splendor, which eclipsed, perhaps, anything of the kind ever seen in the great city.

Yet this was not all. The Emperor heeded the irrepressible expressions of public opinion that were manifest on every side, and on July 22 ordered that provincial parliaments, or assemblies should be organized in each prefecture. These were to be schools of local government to

prepare the nation for the still more august Diet that must, with the Mikado, direct the policy of Japan.

It is hardly possible to-day, after so many years of peaceful constitutional government, to realize the excitement of the twenty-one years of political agitation that lay between the promise given in the Imperial Charter Oath of 1868 and its complete fulfilment in the Constitution of 1889.

Two lines of thought in the evolution of modern Japanese politics as expressed in parties are discernible, the missionary, or Anglo-Saxon party, and the Shinto, or Prussian party.

On the one side we see such men as Okuma, Soyéshima, Itagaki, Shimada, and hosts of others, their successors, whose purpose is not only political but ethical. True representatives of the commonwealth and the people, they are liberal in politics but conservative in social matters. They uphold personal and public morality. They believe in a written Constitution, which makes the Ministers responsible to the Diet, and not to the sovereign. Educated in the historical documents and writings of English and American publicists, they admire the constructive men of action and wisdom in these countries. Trained in the art of conference and of assembling for the public good, they believe in making sovereignty reside not in the Throne but in the people, when rightly

educated and controlled. The best things to borrow from the Occident, they consider, are high ethical standards. The most valuable things to conserve in the native civilization are the old ideals, transfigured and adapted to the new age.

The Shinto or Prussian party is based on the idea that all sovereignty resides in the Emperor; that the Constitution is his own gift to the nation; that the Ministers must always be responsible to the sovereign and not to the Diet; that the Upper House must be the Emperor's creation and always his support, that the greater part of the Constitution must be rigid and unamendable; that there must be great orders and dignities conferred by the Emperor and that everything must centre in him; that parties have nothing to do with the policy of the Government; that even in the Lower House, as well as in the Upper, legislators are simply advisers, and the chief Minister of the Imperial will is the Chancellor, who has subordinates but no associate; while, all through the body politic, the governors and the deliberate gatherings are to follow out the example of the upper personnel of the Empire. In their strictest view, there is no State of Japan apart from the Imperial family.

The real fathers of Japan's political parties were Nakamura and Fukuzawa, both of whom I knew well. In both body and mind, even in feudal days, they had visited Occidental coun-

tries. The teachings of the one were ethical, and socially conservative; those of the other were economic and materialistic.

Exactly what the official rhetoric concerning the gift of the Constitution as solely an act of Imperial grace may mean, one may judge from a glance at chronology. The text of the instrument is of Imperial origin.

1868. The promise, with an oath, that "public matters shall be decided by public assembly."

1873. Petition of Itagaki and others that the Emperor should keep his promise.

1875. Establishment of the Supreme Court and local assemblies.

1879. The Jiyuto, or Liberty Party, organized.

1880. Urgent petitions from tens of thousands of people for the establishment of a Parliament. (Two of the agitating leaders afterward thrown into prison.)

1881. Reorganization of the Liberals. Meeting in secret, because of police opposition, they resolved "to labor for the overthrow of despotism and the establishment of civil liberty, to part with property, nay even with wife and children, and to face death itself for the accomplishment of this object; and whatever be the cost, never to dissolve . . . till this purpose be obtained." Ninety-eight representatives from thirty-nine provinces took the oath.

1882. The Government's repressive measures were condemned by the judgment of the Supreme Court, and the cause of popular liberty triumphed.

1887. The Imperial Rescript, or Peace Preservation Regulations, at which we shall now glance more fully.

In 1881, when the Jiyuto, or Liberty Party was formed, the very name startled some of the men in office and power. "The term liberty, which is wholly absent from the literature of China and Japan," thus coined and put to a political purpose, might bode no good to despotism, or even to those who in office felt themselves masters instead of being true servants. When, in the Court of Appeals, in Sendai a lawless governor, secretly upheld by the Tokyo statesmen in power, was arraigned for malfeasance in office, a young lawyer represented and defended six members of the Jiyuto party, exposing before the court the illegal acts of the Government. For this duty to his country, he was thrown into prison. Against such shameless action men high in office protested as sheer injustice. The six men of the Jiyuto party were hurriedly tried, convicted and sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment. They appealed to the Supreme Court. Mr. Hoshi Toru pleaded their case and they were released amid joyful popular demonstration. The Tokyo bureaucracy had been beaten in a trial at law.

This was one of the rather too many instances in which Mikadoism, by the folly of its upholders, has been made reactionary, almost to the point of Czarism and has been an obstacle to freedom. All the good fruits of the Restoration, at one time, seemed wrested away by bureaucracy. Because they were appointees of the Emperor, governors of provinces often abused their office and authority, oppressed the people and humbled their political opponents. Most vicious of all their machinations was their well concealed purpose to force or inveigle their critics into acts of treason. Against this the people and all lovers of freedom under law protested fearlessly. Even the overworked police and prisons did not deter them. The culmination of Ministerial arrogance was reached in the so-called "Peace Preservation Regulations," promulgated December 25, 1887. In this virtual proclamation of martial law in Tokyo not only were all secret assemblages forbidden but the police were empowered, without reference to higher authority, to put a stop to open air meetings, and even to remove from within a radius of three *ri* (ten miles) from the palace any one "judged to be scheming something detrimental to the public peace"; the police, secretly instructed by the Ministers in power, to be the judges.

In the execution of this order, which was more military than civil, about three hundred persons

were deported. Some of these were undoubtedly dangerous characters, or silly young persons who made themselves a nuisance; but many were among the ablest men of Japan, irreproachable in character, though differing in political opinions from the Ministers in power. They declined to leave Tokyo, and demanded to know what crime they had been guilty of or were charged with. Refused even an answer, they were sent to prison. This highhanded action filled the jails with men whose faces were set towards the goal of freedom.

When the Imperial Diet assembled under the Constitution, in December, 1890, almost every one of the jail birds of ability was summoned to a seat in the Diet, and two of them became Speakers of the House of Representatives. The despotic measures of 1887 had their nemesis in the poor success of the first year of Japan's parliamentary experiment.

These men, true Samurai, ready to serve and to suffer, are far more worthy of being called *Yushisha* or *giri* (righteous men) than the suicides and murderous assassins so long glorified by the Japanese. They must be reckoned in equal honor with the "Elder Statesmen" in power. The three great liberties, of speech, press and assembly, were gained by them. No Togo, or Oyama, or army or navy won greater victories than they. They made possible, as

surely as the men in office, the power of the nation in its wars and diplomacy. The struggle of tendencies and parties, during most of the Méiji era, has been between the followers of the Anglo-Saxon and the Prussian models of government, with the result that the latter won in the letter of the Constitution and the former in the spirit of it. Such liberals as Count Okuma and Itagaki were too high in character, abilities and popular regard for arrest, and they never got into prison. Nevertheless, speaking their minds freely, they cheered on their followers. Throughout the long struggle for personal and popular rights speakers, writers and leaders everywhere showed how powerfully the literature and example not only of France and England but much more those of the United States had nourished their minds and influenced their action.

Political Japan might be rapidly transformed, but social customs change slowly. Even under constitutional imperialism, the old clan methods persisted in new forms, and one of the phenomena of the new régime was the rise of a new figure in Japanese politics—the *so-shi* or "physical force politician."

From 1869 to 1889, speaking roughly, the *ronin* vanished, and no well defined figure took his place, for feudalism was no more. The assassin, however, was occasionally busy, and in every case was a "gentleman," and out of office. When

Okuma pressed that phase of the question of treaty revision which would allow foreigners to sit with Japanese as judges in mixed courts, then the *so-shi* (brave man), or stalwart patriot, arose. His cry was, "Japan for the Japanese." He knew what dynamite was and handled it effectively, at times even in evening dress. The sword having ceased to be part of a gentleman's garb, the sword cane and revolver were in demand and use. Organized into bands, named "young radicals," "independents," etc., these fiery patriots were regularly enrolled, and paid, bought and sold like Tammany Hall "heelers." They figured in the personal assaults on members of the Diet, at the election rows, and in those unrequested interviews forced on Cabinet Ministers, which so disgraced the politics of Japan in the early days of the Diet. Whether serving as personal guards, sluggers, blackmailers, inventors of scandals for dirty newspapers, turners of state's evidence, low actors, peddlers of their own ribald street songs, or campfollowers of the armies, their story, whether in abounding prosperity or abasement of impecuniosity, is marvellously like that of the vote seller and political hanger-on in America. The clash with China did much to make the *so-shi* a vanishing figure. The war, by moving Court and Diet to the far southwest at Hiroshima, withal, calling forth into at least temporary earnestness of unity the various

factions, spoiled the *so-shi's* trade. One burden of letters from Japan during the year 1895 was the absence from or innocuousness of the *so-shi* at the capital. The pistol shot at the aged Chinese envoy, Li Hung Chang, the guest of the nation, at Shimonoséki, roused such a storm of popular wrath that the half educated young "gentlemen" who once lived as well paid "workers for the party," in ever dwindling numbers, were compelled to earn a living by manual industry or in precarious blackmailing.

CHAPTER XXVIII

LATER LIFE OF THE EMPEROR

By the time the Mikado had fulfilled his sacred promise given to the nation in 1868 and had granted the Constitution of 1889 he had reached the prime of life and his character as a statesman and ruler was fixed. Scrupulously conscientious in all his dealings with individual men and with the nation, he rejoiced in the opportunity to fulfill his plighted word. There were extravagant demonstrations of joy on the part of Japan's millions, on the promulgation of the Constitution in 1889, but their emotions were no deeper than the Emperor's own. Theirs was as the torrential rivers of mountainous Nippon. His was as the still waters of Lake Biwa.

Tokutomi, a veteran editor, through Professor E. W. Clement says of Mutsuhito: "He was a model constitutional monarch; he always trusted his eminent statesmen, and kept them in their proper places, the right man in the right place; he never deserted his Ministers; he was always straightforward and openhearted. He was never an autocrat, but always welcomed suggestions from the Elder Statesmen and Minis-

ters; yet he was master of the situation and never 'dropped the reins.' He never signed a law or ordinance without ascertaining for himself whether it was desirable. He was a painstaking, studious monarch; he had a tenacious memory, so that his mind was a remarkable storehouse of recent Japanese history, wherein he was better posted than many officials. He had great literary talent; his poems were straight from the heart and reminded one of the 'Meditations' of Marcus Aurelius. He lived a simple life."

None more than this quiet, forceful man, set to guide the destinies of 50,000,000 souls, knew the value of the simple life. Amid the incoming flood of luxury Mutsuhito lived in the palace as a Spartan. None in all Japan was truer to the old sanctions in a time of corrosion and flux. Loyal to the ancient ideals, he understood also the power of inspiration through a shining example.

In 1894 mighty China, with her big modern battleships, of which Japan then had none; her army drilled by Germans, her forts and arsenals reared on modern models and equipped with Krupp cannon, and backed by her supposed invincible hosts and inexhaustible resources, was reckoned a power that could crush Japan. So, in unbroken chorus, predicted the armchair experts. We who knew Japan's public schools and understood Mutsuhito did not wait for "wisdom

after the event," but outlined in detail the course of Japan's sure victories and ultimate triumph on land and sea; and afterward we were not surprised when the Occident, in new treaties, proceeded to acknowledge Japan's political equality.

In this crisis the Emperor revealed his unselfish devotion to his people by leaving the capital and his home comforts to be nearer his men. Journeying by rail to Hiroshima, in the southwest, and to the rendezvous and port of departure of his fleets and armies, he lived in frugality there during many months. It was the simple life for him; for his personal food, shelter and surroundings were even less luxurious than the standard of the middle classes of the Empire in time of peace. All this the soldiers knew. They could not help winning.

On His Majesty's return to the capital after the war a pavilion, or covered arch, many yards long, sheathed entirely with *kiri* leaves, emblematic of national loyalty, welcomed him.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE ROOTS OF THE QUARREL WITH RUSSIA

The clash between Russia and Japan, which surprised the world in 1904, was preordained. The red flower of war blossomed from roots deep in the past. Both nations had sentimentally claimed the far northern region of Saghalien, long supposed to be continental, though it was a Japanese who first proved that it was an island. In a narrow craft, made especially for the purpose, Mamiya in 1805 sailed into and beyond the narrow straits of Tartary, nearly circumnavigated the island, and fixed its topography. To the Japanese Karafuto, as they called it, was a part of the Mikado's domain. Its occupation, even though temporary, by aliens, meant invasion; while seizure of any part of their land was to them "dismemberment of the Empire," a thought most horrible.

When therefore in 1806 the Russians made descent upon Itorup, in the Kurile Islands, they met resistance from the garrison from Yedo, and they shed Japanese blood. Because of this the wrath and long memory of a people to whom forgetfulness or forgiveness of injuries is not a

shining grace smouldered long and needed only a breeze to rouse it. An increasingly voluminous literature concerning their insular possessions, which they now called Hokkaido, or North Sea Gate, kept them from popular oblivion.

Later provocations were not wanting. In time of her dire weakness in 1861, Japan was further insulted by the descent of Russians on the island of Tsushima in the far south. When bravely resisted, the invaders shed blood again, for a Japanese guardsman was killed. The Muscovites planted seed for crops and expected to stay. Only when the Yedo Government, then helpless before its insurgent feudatories, invoked the aid of the British fleet, did the Russians retire.

Yet in St. Petersburg the determination to own Saghalien, for a convict station, was kept up and in 1875 Baron De Rosen, the Czar's envoy in Tokyo, right under the nose of Sir Harry Parkes, the ever vigilant British Minister, conducted his negotiations with such adroitness and secrecy that one fine morning Parkes was astounded to learn that all Saghalien was now Russian and that possession of the Kuriles, already claimed by Japan, had been guaranteed by Russia as *quid pro quo*. The Muscovites had outwitted the Chinese, slicing off a territory in Manchuria as big as France, which brought their frontier alongside of Korea and made them neighbors to the Japanese; and now nothing but a narrow

strait separated the Czar's land from the Mikado's. What was to hinder the Russians from seizing Korea and making of the Japan Sea a Russian lake?

Over these humiliations and impending dangers thousands of subjects of the Mikado brooded with secret sorrow. When therefore, on April 27, 1891, the Czarevitch, or son of the then Autocrat of all the Russias and now, since 1894, Emperor, landed as the Mikado's guest, the most scrupulous care was exercised everywhere on his route lest any breach of hospitality should occur.

Yet above all things the practical Japanese are very sentimental, and some, in spite of Bushido, are without control. None knew this trait of their countrymen more than the Tokyo statesmen, but they thought they could trust their own policemen. But, borne down with a sense of humiliation over the "dismemberment of the Empire" and boiling with rage and hatred at the defilement of the Land of the Gods by the incarnation of Russian spoilers, in the person of the Czarevitch, one fanatical policeman, near Kyoto on May 11, 1891, drew his sword and smote the Czarevitch a blow that save for the thick pith helmet he wore would have been fatal.

What was to be done, when the Emperor of Japan, even more than his guest, was thus wounded in the house of his friends? The coming of the Czar's son had been the subject of long

negotiation. When the Russian Minister in Tokyo told the Mikado that he did not consider the guarantees for the safety of the Czarevitch sufficient, Mutsuhito made reply that startled to indignation some of his own officers: "I take the personal responsibility of the Czarevitch's visit. His person shall be as safe as my own. I answer for his safety with my own honor."

What this meant, the swift sequel showed. In Tokyo, within two hours after receipt of telegrams announcing news of the attack, a Cabinet meeting was called. The Emperor's own surgeon and an Imperial Prince were at once despatched by special train to Kyoto. In a rescript addressed to the nation, its head expressed his profound sorrow, and the next morning started with all his staff for Kyoto. Then followed what, considering the sacredness of the Emperor's person, was an exhibition of genuine personal courage. Mutsuhito went on board the Russian ship to make apology in person and to express his deep sympathy and sorrow. The meeting between the two men of exalted rank was affecting in the extreme. Yet on land, the Elder Statesmen, members of the Cabinet, and the leading men of Japan, as they saw their sovereign put off in the boat, and during all the time of his absence on the Russian ship felt the deepest anxiety while their beloved ruler was virtually away from Japan and on what was legally Rus-

sian soil. What if he should be kidnapped and carried away to Russia?

With such a grievance to redress, would not the Russians be justified in holding the Japanese Emperor as a hostage for redress, or as a punishment for the insult to a royal personage? The aged Count Hijikata, on November 14, 1912, recalling the incident, said: "When the boat which conveyed the Emperor back to the shore was seen leaving the Russian man-of-war, our joy at receiving back our Emperor knew no bounds."

No incident in all the life of Mutsuhito showed more clearly the union of hearts between the Mikado and the people than this incident.

In 1904, after Russia's aggression and tortuous diplomacy, which might have compelled a war, even with the United States, had not certain questions at issue been settled by Japan, when a public school army smote Russia's ignorant military masses, Mutsuhito was the true leader of his people. As was his lifelong habit, he opened his mind in daily rhythm and spoke to his people in poetry. Three poems, which appeared in "The Nation's Friend" (*Kokumin Shimbun*) of November 9, 1904, and were translated by the late Rev. Arthur Lloyd, photograph his feelings before the war, at its declaration and in the crisis of battle, when youth was in arms abroad and at

the front, while old age was at home in unwonted labors:

"My heart's at peace with all, and fain would I
Live, as I love, in lifelong amity;
And yet the storm clouds lower, the rising wind
Stirs up the waves; the elemental strife
Rages around. I do not understand
Why this should be."

"'Tis surely not Our fault.
We've sought to be sincere in deed and word;
We have exhausted every means to press
A clear and truthful case, but all in vain.
Now may the God that sees the hearts of men
Approve of what We do!

"They're at the front,
Our brave young men; and now the middle aged
Are shouldering their arms; and in the fields
The old men gather in the abundant rice,
Low stooping o'er the sheaves: all ages vie
In cheerful self-devotion to the Land."

Of the war hundreds of witnesses, in every language of Europe and in many of Asia, have written. Apart from its carnage, its engineering, its hygiene, its naval conflicts, it was a revelation to the world. It smote most wholesomely the conceit of the "white man." These blows of surprise and pedagogical chastisement were sorely needed. The Muscovites, in masses of men who knew not what they were fighting for,

were thrown against intelligent patriots infused with the loftiest ideals. As usual, the moral counted against the physical force, as three to one.

In actual conflicts in the field the Russian infantry fired by platoons. Their tacticians, sword in hand, galloped at the front. The Japanese commanders used telegraphs and telephones, their soldiers making brain power and cleanliness allies to valor. Russian soldiers, in their sheer ignorance and within their own lines, cut down the electric wires to mend their boots and bale their hay. The Japanese could outmarch the Russians and could throw a pontoon across a river over a mile wide within twenty minutes, because bridge building, as well as sandal making, had been an everyday task during ages. The spirit of Japan is sufficiently represented in two of many telegrams after Admiral Togo's victory:

The Japanese Minister of the Navy to Admiral Togo:

"We send sincere congratulations and take occasion to praise the virtue of the Emperor; to thank you and those under you for the onerous service extending over many months and to express sympathy for the killed and wounded."

The Japanese Emperor to Admiral Togo:

"We are glad that by the loyalty of Our offi-

cers and men We have been enabled to respond to the spirits of our ancestors."

Again, response to the spirit of ancestors!

The reply of Admiral Togo to his Emperor's congratulations, which created surprise and merriment in America, ascribed the whole credit of victory to the virtue of the Mikado's ancestors. My own comment in the New York *Tribune* was in part the following:

"In Japan all life is communal. The victories of Oyama and Togo are not theirs, but the nation's. They are literally the result of all the past life and training of the whole people. Togo is absolutely sincere in declaring that 'not to the action of any human being' but to the soul of all Japan is the result to be ascribed."

CHAPTER XXX

THE MATURE MAN

Mutsuhito incarnated the spirit of the nation, in that he rose to every fresh occasion and met new demands and duties with cheerful regularity. With filial piety, he accepted the past. He realized, as few outsiders possibly could, the mystic influence of ancestors in his own heredity. Yet, as if reborn, he welcomed the fresh opportunities and was no less obedient to the new calls, nor any the less loyal to the duties of the unexpected hour. He entered like an athlete into the needful preparation of a larger life, such as his sires had never known or dreamed.

Mutsuhito was accustomed to rise at six o'clock the year round. At seven o'clock he sat down to breakfast and after this attended to matters of paternal affection and personal need, and to those household cares which the husband, father and friend cannot shirk, whether he dwell in the hut or palace. At nine o'clock the court physicians came in to make the necessary inquiries after the Emperor's health. This function not infrequently extended to further examination and scrutiny. Imperative rule required the

physicians to state frankly what was necessary to maintain the bodily vigor of the nation's ruler. Even in later years, when disliking travel and becoming more and more wedded to domestic and personal comfort, he was in danger of falling, like even common men, into an ignoble round of sedentary life, the Emperor was obedient to medical command. He went out doors into active horsemanship or even took considerable journeys, in order to vary, for his best physical good, the rigid routine of his daily life.

At ten o'clock Mutsuhito was in his library, or engaged in council with his Ministers, in discussion, or in attending to the multifarious duties which now devolved upon the head of the great Empire. At high noon he sat down to the midday meal, a rather light and frugal one. At two he began again the consideration of and decision upon questions of state, the hours of detail stretching out usually until five and often until six. After the evening meal there were social duties, audiences with his Ministers or servants, or great public functions, so that rarely was Mutsuhito at entire leisure, while certainly one of the busiest, if not the most busy man in the Empire.

The Emperor's gymnastic habits were less peculiar than thoroughly Japanese. In the earlier days archery was his favorite amusement. As the Empire expanded and his duties pressed,

he could take long walks only occasionally, in the Imperial gardens. When wet weather prevented outdoor relaxation he walked under cover, but more time was spent on a wooden horse, which was so built and articulated and capable of movement that it afforded him good exercise. From childhood he was passionately fond of high bred horses and of riding them. He frequently attended the races, in both Tokyo and Yokohama, enjoying keenly the utmost development of equine flesh as seen in speed. He had been well trained by the best teachers of horsemanship when a lad in Kyoto, but there is a notable difference between the old and new styles of riding. When the Japanese saddle was a voluminous affair of gilt bravery in leather and dazzling brilliancy of red silk and tassels, with mighty stirrups, in which one put the whole of his stockinged foot upon the wide, flat heavy shoe, the style of sitting for the rider differed notably from that of to-day, in that the man leaned forward, while also holding the head of the horse high up in the air. The modern method of sitting upright, booted and spurred, with feet in comparatively small steel loops is in striking contrast. The old fashioned habits of the Emperor, kept up in later years, sometimes excited inward smiles among those who were outwardly admiring. Instead of sitting straight up, as the best modern riders do, Mutsuhito still leaned forward with

what one might call the "scholarly stoop" in his shoulders.

Mutsuhito loved not the horse only but all living things. His favorite companion in his garden walks was the Yorkshire terrier which General Oyama had given him.

Poetry to the Japanese is "the gymnastics of the soul." In this enchanted realm Mutsuhito exercised his spirit. From early childhood Mutsuhito not only loved poetry, to hear and read it, but he even began at seven or eight years of age to write it. His honored father, Koméi, taught his precocious son and commanded him to write down his thoughts in dainty rhythm. What was at first discipline became passion with Mutsuhito. Where others in the Western world, for example, let out their souls at play in keeping a diary, in writing letters, in jotting down thoughts in prose, in collecting what is personally agreeable, thus making a record of their inmost desires and showing what their souls feed upon, Mutsuhito, now that he has gone, has in these verselets revealed to us his soul. In his merry moods or in times of excitement he would pen as many as fifty or sixty a day. He shared his soul with his people.

Part of the Emperor's evening recreation in later years was in recalling memories of Kyoto, both of his tranquil child life and the stirring scenes of his boyhood, both of bloodless struggle

in the Court and of the war and fire scenes which took place in the old city.

From the time when he discarded the native flowing robes as his daily habit Mutsuhito wore, during the hours of his occupation with affairs of state, the uniform of commander-in-chief of the army and navy. On naval occasions, since the great review took place, the Emperor wore the naval uniform. When public business was over he donned a plain frock coat. This was of simple black cloth, woven from native looms. To the end of his days, however, the tight fitting foreign dress always seemed to him like armor, the robe of duty but not the dress of comfort. His own looser native garb was preferred for the hours of ease, and his night garment was of white silk of a kind called *habutai,* or feather woof. Most of this fabric is made in the city of Fukui, and nowadays with modern machinery moved by steam, gas or electricity, and no longer in cottages, as I saw it woven, but in great factories. The sleeping robe was worn but once.

His Majesty was a convinced believer in the virtues of the shampoo, or dry rub. The Hindu word and the actual thing were introduced alike into Japan and Europe, the Far East and the Far West from India, in connection with the hot bath, which like a true native of Nippon, Mutsuhito believed in. The practice of massage is an old one in Japan, and is the monopoly of

blind men (*ama*), who go about the streets toward dusk or night fall. Blowing his curious whistle, each one sounds the cry, "My services are perfectly fulfilled for three hundred *mon*," (three cents). Many foreigners, especially in travelling, and thousands of natives enjoy the mild kneading, rubbing, pounding, slapping, pulling and snapping of joints by the expert *ama,* while they lie on the mats and quilts. As preparation for tranquil rest His Majesty summoned to his bedside one of the most skilful of the fraternity, but one with sight, and enjoyed the passive exercise which refreshes and promotes circulation.

In the morning the silk kimono was given away, and many of these mementoes of His late Majesty have been made into cushions, bags, bedding, or objects of personal and household decoration, thus still keeping fresh the memories of the past.

Formerly these garments for the Emperor were bought through the regular channels of trade, but in these modern days of bacilli and germs, when we know how disease is carried, there has been established in the Palace a department of tailoring, in which the men and women employed are subject to rigid purification and inspection. These workmen dress in washable white, so that danger of disease entering in this way is almost wholly eliminated. It is per-

haps hardly possible for a modern Mikado to die, as Koméi did, of smallpox, or of infectious diseases that have more than once desolated the palaces of Asia and Europe alike. No profession is now more honored in Japan than that of the physician, and in the art of prevention as well as cure the Japanese doctors excel.

Few people in the Empire were more consistently frugal in their eating habits than Mutsuhito. For the Emperor's conscience, it was a question of national welfare as to how he ate. He certainly tried to glorify his ancestors and emulate their primitive virtues. The example which he set has made it possible for an overcrowded and poor country, with very little arable land, to sustain two great wars. Vast enterprises that would have been impossible except for the strong reinforcement of precept and practice in the Imperial Castle and the inspiration that flowed thence were carried out.

The Emperor's meal at sunset, the chief one of the day, usually consisted of five courses. He was very fond of chicken soup and of broiled fish. The latter was dipped repeatedly in soy, as it was taken off and put again upon the grid-iron several times over, so that the flavor of the sauce penetrated the entire body of the food. This soy, our word being a corruption of the Japanese *shoyu,* is made of a fermented mixture of calcined barley meal, boiled beans, yeast, water

and salt, and is the basis of most of those English sauces, with names ending in "shire," which come to us in bottles having long necks and high prices. As a rule Mutsuhito did not care for foreign food or dishes, though not averse to some of them. He ate frequently also, as we do, of raw food, ours being oysters and clams, and his *sashimi,* which consists of very thin slices of raw fish, with finely grated root stuff having a piquant taste and flavor. His Majesty was very fond of fine garden vegetables and was never at any time a large consumer of flesh.

For the lighter courses, the Emperor was very fond of fruit, and in time banana and peach trees brought from different countries were planted in the Palace gardens, so that he could have them fresh from the parent stem. For dessert he liked sponge cake, which the Japanese call *kastera,* after Castile in Spain, whence first it came. Of other dainty bakings and of chocolate he was also a good judge.

Though the Imperial meals were simple, exceeding care was used in the preparation and presentation of the food. This was most carefully selected and sampled, and every phase of its cleansing and cooking was guarded by the Palace physicians. Then set upon ceremonial trays, that is, those upon a lofty base, they were brought upon the table, which was garnished with the standard emblems of happiness and longevity,

the pine, the crane and the tortoise. The flower arrangements in the season were of the choicest of their kind, while the dishes and articles of use on the table had the chrysanthemum and the paulownia, which form the Emperor's national and family crest, as their decoration.

Tea was of course the standard drink, for Mutsuhito, a world citizen in intellect, was a Japanese by choice and taste, as well as by birth and training. The particular kind of herb he liked was grown in Uji, where are the oldest gardens in the Empire. The black leaf he most appreciated was called by a name meaning "jewelled dew." The tea was always made in Japanese style, the proprieties as to metal and keramics being strictly observed, and was served at every meal. In old Japan milk was not a common drink. Only motherless, infantile humanity and very old and weak people were supposed to drink it. In fact two strong causes operated against an abundant supply; the one being a matter of opinion and the other of resources. It was thought wrong to take the milk from the mother animal, when her offspring needed it more. Yet as a matter of fact, with the old native stock, it usually required, besides the presence of the calf, a good deal of muscular human exertion to get any respectable amount of the liquid. Ages of evolution had done little for the cow in Japan, and none of the wonders of

the mighty udders in Friesland or Jersey were known in The Land of Fertile Plains, even in mythology or fairy tale. As American and European blooded stock was introduced, the breed of cattle improved and fashions changed in the Land of Many Adoptions. Then the dairy man and the milk wagon, the churn, the jug and the pitcher made their appearance, both His Majesty and the Empress frequently enjoying the beverage. The man who wins the Japanese to delight in the products of the cow and to use cheese liberally will have the honors of a conquest greater than that of Port Arthur or Mukden.

Of alcoholic liquors, at first, Mutsuhito drank only *saké,* the æon old liquid, both brewed and distilled from rice, but later took to the enjoyment of foreign wines, liking especially in recent years *Chateau la rose.* This sense of pleasure in foreign liquors so increased, that, according to the alleged testimony of one of his physicians, his alcoholic indulgences, along with his multifarious burdens and cares, shortened his life. From the best testimony gathered, it was more than probable that Japan would have enjoyed much longer the benefit of his noble and beautiful life, had Mutsuhito been an abstainer, especially from foreign concoctions.

A true Japanese of the Japanese, the Emperor used *hashi,* or chopsticks continually. Those for Imperial use were of a special length. Whereas

the *hashi* or chopsticks used by other members of the Imperial family were eight inches, those of the Mikado were nine inches long. These were fashioned by an expert living in one of the villages of Greater Tokyo from *katsu* wood. This man selected the material according to its weight and quality. Then, after repeated personal preparation in cleanliness both of mind and body, and strict inspection of material and the workman assistants, he gave the proper shape, form, and length to the chopsticks. The final craftsmanship which imparted the slender grace and ivory-like polish to the *hashi* was the master's joyful work. He was accustomed to shut himself up from his family, see no friends, and, as if engaged in religious exercises, would put the finishing touches upon fifty pairs in a day.

A true Japanese and a genuine connoisseur, Mutsuhito had a great passion for swords. He was well acquainted with the history of the weapon and of the methods and details of the workmen and their shops, and with the poetry and lore of the time, for in Nippon the sword has been transfigured and its spiritual significance emphasized quite as much as its material reality. Before the Restoration he had made a collection of half a hundred choice blades, which he enjoyed handling; but after feudalism had been abolished many of the former castle lords sent to their beloved master scores of historic weapons, famous

in their families and with their ancestors. The Emperor's personal collection in 1912 numbered over three hundred. Only a few of the former Daimios have established museums, in which hundreds and even thousands of the blades of the clan, once so dear, are treasured. The romance and sentiment of the Japanese sword penetrated Mutsuhito's heart and mind and much of the perfume of the old Palace life still remained, as if the spirit of the blade were guarding him day and night. Here is his feeling expressed in one of his own verses, as Dr. J. Ingram Bryan translates it:

> "Hail, forged sword of ancient glory
> Untarnished through ancestral ages!
> Still higher make its worldwide story,
> Knights of Nippon, when war rages."

One other personal foible was shown by the Emperor in his love for clocks, native and foreign. These he collected by the score, enjoying the study of their workmanship and casing, and delighting to hear their ticking, striking and chimes. He was a great patron of art, not only pictorial but also glyptic and keramic. He delighted in fine lacquer and ivory. Almost every kind of plastic material, in which the Japanese genius finds a field for the expression of fun, fact, fancy, dream, soul vision and aspiration, interested Mutsuhito.

It is certain that no one of his subjects ever trained himself more in personal finance, and realized early in life how potent his example in this vital question would be with his subjects. He made himself early sensitive to all needs and was quick to respond to the calls upon his munificence, whether these were uttered or unexpressed. Almost every charitable cause appealed to him, and without regard to race, sect or creed, he gave liberally and often.

Thanks largely to Mutsuhito's fostering interest in athletic exercises, improvement in diet and habits of sitting, the Japanese have added in one generation half an inch to their average stature. They are slowly but surely increasing in both weight and height, and perhaps no country now excels Japan in public hygiene.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE FAMILY OF MUTSUHITO

The Empress Haruko was not far behind her Imperial husband in love of poetry, in outdoor delights, in a thousand manifold industries in the Palace, of which the world knows little or nothing, and in the constant practice of charity. Well do I remember her interest in and her visit to the Girls' School, of which my sister was the head, which by evolution grew into the Tokyo Normal School and the Peeresses' School. In a hundred other places I have heard of the same gracious interest and presence. She visited hospitals, and during war time saved from her private purse, in order to give to the needy. Her accounts show self-denial and economy, even to one twentieth of a cent saved from her personal allowance, in order to purchase artificial limbs for soldiers who had lost theirs in siege or battle. It is impossible to exaggerate the power of the Empress's example in educating her people. To her own personal patronage in the furtherance of the ambulance enterprise, which astonished and led the world, and of the Red Cross activities is due their remarkable efficiency.

Times that I can remember were, when in the normal Japanese maiden or mature woman the feeling of disgust overcame the instincts even of humanity. The love of aesthetics triumphed over mercy, for the canons of modesty forbade a Japanese woman to touch the body of any male human being not her father or in close blood relationship, even though the man might be wounded and in pain. Yet, as with the waving of a wand or the passing of a dark night, the whole atmosphere and landscape of Japanese life changed into bright morning when it was known that the Empress had gone into the hospitals, where the lowest or plainest people were, mutilated or diseased. Later, when the noble ladies both washed and cleansed the sick and wounded common soldier, women rushed forward in a great army to become nurses. Example, reinforcing precept, added amazingly to the efficiency of Japanese womanhood.

It was during the Russian war that the Japanese women found themselves, realizing for the first time, on a national scale, their power in organization for good. In their great work under the Red Cross they were led by the Empress Haruko. Besides her own poems, those of two of the Imperial Princesses penned during the war are noteworthy. The first here given is by the Princess Kitashirakawa, who was left a widow in the war with China:

"The snow white bands our tender hands have rolled
Are dyed with the red blood of our true hearts
To give fresh vigor to our wounded men."

The second is by the Princess Nashimoto:

"We are but women, and our slender hands
Are all untaught to grasp the musket stock;
Yet in this work, we know that we can bear
Our share of the great burden of the war."

It was in war time that the Empress wrote:

"With every tale of victory
Arriving from the field
I think how many brave lives
For triumph had to yield."

"The twelve cardinal virtues of Japanese social life," temperance, purity, constancy, etc., were treated poetically by the Empress. One of her compositions, on "Reality," is as follows:

"I ask not flowers for the hair
However beyond compare
But ornaments more rare
Heart flowers, fragrant and fair."

Here is another flash of thought, in praise of the permanent:

"The jewel in a lady's coronet
Gleams in her hair and sparkles in the gloom
And yet 'tis naught, a sparkle, not a light.
The book, whose page enlightens the dark mind
Is the true treasure."

A fresh study of the Dowager Empress Haruko's poem* shows that it, "like that of her late Imperial Lord, is supreme in technique and magnificent in appeal, although it is naturally not quite so virile in sentiment nor so profound in poetical conception." The following, penned on shipboard, is translated by Arthur Lloyd:

"In the small hours of night,
When all is dark, and rocks nor islets show
To guide the steerman, lo! the noisy crew
Of mariners, with many a 'yo-heave-ho' and shout,
Raise up the anchor. Ere the lusty strains
Have ceased, day breaks on the whitening waves,
And all the course lies clearly to be seen."

Yoshihito, third son of Mutsuhito and now Emperor of Japan, survived all his older brothers, who died young. When eight years old, in September, 1887, he entered the school for nobles. His playmates were chosen with great care, but the heir to the Throne was taught to attend to many of the details of life himself, so as to learn the ways of the common people, even to the tying of his own shoe strings. The Emperor attended in person, or rather supervised much of his son's education, but the boy remained in the school with his playmates until June, 1895, after which his training in the Chinese and Japanese branches of learning was conducted under private tutors.

* In the *Japan Magazine,* for December, 1912, by Dr. J. Ingram Bryan.

His general manner of life was that of most well bred Japanese. He rose at six, took his cold bath and sat down to a breakfast of milk and bread. He then spent the time outdoors until nine o'clock, when lessons began, and he was busy studying until twelve o'clock. His lunch was usually in foreign style, but his principal or evening meal consisted of the native food and was served in the manner of his countrymen. The greater part of the afternoon was passed outdoors in lively exercise. He was very fond of football and robust games.

To some Yoshihito seemed almost outlandishly democratic, especially to those who used the glasses of tradition. Many anecdotes are told of his sympathy with the plain man. When visiting the garrison town and entering the barracks he insisted while among them on eating the common soldiers' food. To all protests he answered, "I, also, am a soldier of the Empire." On one occasion, when a jin-riki-sha man was seized with vertigo and disabled, the Crown Prince leaped out of the vehicle and walked all the way to Mishima. Once on climbing a mountain he left his companions behind him and reached the top first. At another time, on parade, he helped a cavalryman, who had tumbled off his horse, holding the fellow in his arms until he had regained his seat. Yoshihito inherited his great love of horses from his father, and when a boy was made

very happy by the gift of a Siamese pony, with which he had great fun. Another pretty story is told of his coming to a tea house, where a deformed young girl of eight had hidden herself in the dark part of the room, though wishing to "worship the august shadow." Yoshihito, inquiring about her, called her out and sat beside her on the bench in front of the tea house, speaking words of kindness never forgotten by the child.

Yoshihito spent the evenings in social enjoyment, and his last function and wish at night were to take a hot bath, and be in bed before eleven. His union with the Princess Sada, now Empress, resulted in the birth of three sons, the first of whom, Hirohito, is now Crown Prince or Heir Apparent. During his kindergarten days two young Japanese ladies of good training had charge of the Imperial children in a model school room, in which were blackboards, modern seats and equipment. The exercises began at nine. Prince Michinomiya, as his child's name was, showed himself a real boy, enjoying especially the native games of "catching the *oni*," or demon, and "first at the flag." The birth of a grandson born to an actually reigning Emperor, on April 29, 1901, is said to have been the first in Japan during many centuries.

Like his ancestors, the new Mikado is ready with the pen at verse flashes. Once when out

hunting he shot a stag, but when the beautiful creature was brought and lay dead before him, while the cry of its bereaved mate was heard, he wrote:

"For my own amusement,
The fatal shot I fired
But when I heard the doe's lament,
The pleasure all expired."

CHAPTER XXXII

THE EMPEROR AS POET

Nothing reveals the character of Mutsuhito, the man, more than his autobiography, which he has himself written, in the fugitive couplets, or stanzas, which he began to compose in childhood and which pastime he kept up almost to his latest conscious hour. It was his constant daily habit thus to express thought, fancy, dream, emotion, and probably 50,000 of these scintillations of his genius are in existence. Hundreds of the verselets have been translated by competent scholars. These, dwelling among the living people, and surrounded by the objects and sensitive to the influences to which the Japanese soul is most responsive, withal being themselves of poetic temper and aesthetic temperament, have succeeded in rendering the verselets with point and felicity. We say this advisedly, because a merely literal translation of the language of these evanescent impressions, emotions and fruits of experiences would be absurd. The analysis of a humming bird in terms of chemistry would hardly yield to one's eyes a true picture of this flashing jewel of the air.

The late Dr. Arthur Lloyd and Dr. J. Ingram Bryan of Tokyo have been among the most successful of these translators. They have developed with skill the Japanese negative of the light pictures in the Emperor's soul and felicitously have they thrown open these chambers of imagery. Here are a few:

"The evening afterglow
Across green plains of pine,
Extending for below—
How exquisitely fine!"

That the Emperor himself came to his sunny and winsome disposition not by the mere accident of heredity but through conscientious cultivation is shown in his stanza of "The Sunny Heart":

"Morn by morn the rising sun
Serene and pure his course doth run;
Oh, happy heart that yearns to be
Thus sunlike in its quality!"

The cares of state sometimes robbed the Emperor of his sleep, for it was not possible to be free from anxiety when the very existence of his people were threatened. In this manner he expressed himself:

"Many a humid summer night
I've passed long hours in wakeful mood,
Much musing of my country's plight,
And with deep thoughts of her imbued."

How he lived with his people, in all their joys and sorrows, he confesses in another couplet:

"Whether it rain or shine,
I have one only care—
The burden of this heart of mine
Is how my people fare."

Again he feels that the nation's welfare depends much upon himself and writes:

"Oh! Pillar of State,
By inheritance mine,
I pray untoward fate
May never be thine;
And that thou, through my reign
May unmoved remain."

Like sparks from an incandescent bar of iron, flew out many a time the proofs of the Emperor's spontaneous love for Japan's millions, who, when they read these poetic outbursts, were thrilled:

"When old books I open
And turn the frayed pages,
I read but one token,
The question of ages:
My People so true
How fares it with you?"

In the competition annually called for by the State the Emperor took part with his subjects. As in the West, at New Year's time, or rather in the departing hours of the eve of the joyous day, which calls forth reflection and penitence issuing

in resolve, the spirit is stirred to longing for greater purity of life. To the theme set by the Emperor himself, His Majesty, as he looked toward the silver glory of Japan's peerless mountain, than which no symbol of the pure heart could be more striking, wrote:

"To greet New Year
Toward Fuji's height,
Aspiring peer,
Lofty and white!"

Japan's Emperor on New Year's Day invites, according to custom, the whole nation to a poetry party, and millions enjoy and compete. The Bureau of Poetry makes the decisions of honor.

A theme, given out by the Emperor, was "The Plum Blossom and the New Year." Only those who have seen the fair flower itself, whether in the garden of Japanese life and literature or as the living harbinger of spring's victory over winter, when—as the artist in keramics has endeavored to depict it—the plum blossom's petals lie on the paper-thin ice, that cracks with the slightest motion, can fully appreciate the suggestiveness, along with the verbal beauty of this poetic gem expressed in the original thirteen words:

"In the morning glow
Of the still young year,
Through the new fallen snow
Plum blossoms appear!"

On another occasion His Majesty gave out the theme "When the Bush-warbler [*unguisu,* Japan's sweetest songster] Makes Melody."

> "Not to be behind my farers
> With New Year's congratulations
> The warbler leads the bearers
> Of the day's felicitations."

Certain objects in pairs form the main stock of the Japanese poet's thoughts and artist's designs. They are the elements which by mystic permutation and combination make the islander's world of feeling.

For example, the new born babe is covered by a robe embroidered with pine tree and stork, emblems of long life. The willow and the swallow, the bamboo and the sparrow indicate gentleness. Does the cuckoo fly across the night sky's silver crescent? The scene recalls to a native in the land of the classic bow and arrow the happy shot made by the archer Yorimasa, who at night killed a monster that destroyed the Mikado's rest. When the Emperor rewarded his liegeman with a famous sword, the Court Noble who was to present it heard a cuckoo. Catching the bird's note, he extemporized a verselet in seventeen syllables; whereat the archer, being as good a poet as he was a brave soldier, made reply in a second strophe of fourteen syllables, making a poem full to overflowing richness of dainty allusion and

double meaning, so that history, poetry and sentiment are in art and song recalled by the cuckoo and moon.

Other couplets combine the peony and Chinese lion; the mulberry and the goat, the hare peeping out of the autumn rushes. The Japanese see in the moon not a man carrying sticks but a hare scouring the face of the sky's mirror with rushes. The red maple leaves of autumn and the stag suggest poetry and love, because the Japanese use the same word for color (*iro*) and for passion. When the lover sends a once beloved sprig of autumn maple, it is equivalent to our more prosaic "mitten." The leaf and the heart have both changed their *iro* or color.

The plum blossom and pheasant, the soaring wild geese with rushes or pine sprays in their beaks, the monkey and the moon—the animal seeing its face in the dancing mirror on the unstable element—the chrysanthemum and the ox, the bamboo and the tiger, the peach tree and the oxen, the dragon crossing the summit of Fuji on the clouds, the carp and the waterfall, are all associated images. One touch of rhythmic words or painter's brush starts the Japanese imagination into a long ramble through fairy land, becomes an Open Sesame into the treasure house of the national lore, or sends a thrill of aesthetic joy through the nature of reader or hearer. Translation seems not only "treachery" but sug-

gests even the common place operations of a bleachery. A hundred other couplets, more or less associated together, might be found in the thesaurus of Japanese life and art.

In one instance, after the war with Russia, His Majesty makes the waveless calm of a lake the symbol of the continuance of peace:

"I know this morn, as I awake,
The lucid level of the lake
Portrays the heart of all four seas
In welcoming a year of Peace."

"The branches of the willow do not break with the snow," says the Japanese proverb, but the pine tree, bearing in bravery and beauty masses of the soft clinging snow, is a symbol of grandeur. It recalls the splendor of the emerald seas and is a prophecy of that exquisite weather which usually follows a snow storm in Japan. The sky and sea take on a brilliancy of color and contrast that reminds one of the technique of Rembrandt's portraits, in which the human face and hair, jewels and robes, between light and shade, make entrancing harmony. The outline of all objects on land takes on a sharpness of edge that seems unearthly in its glory. On such a day the Emperor wrote:

"The billowy emerald sea,
The pine boughs white with snow,
Do symbolize delightfully
The fairest things I know."

The Emperor prays for the immortality of his land:

"Isuzu's river toward the main,
For ages measureless to man,
Has flowed in its imperial reign;
And so, methinks, will fair Japan."

The smoke from the humble cottage is a poetic theme everywhere, but is especially classic in Japanese poetry. Thus the Emperor's pen limns a picture, while his heart swells with joy:

"Above each mountain hamlet roof
The New Year wreaths are curling blue;
O happy ruler, with such proof
Of happy subjects; loyal, true."

Another poem on "The Color of the Bamboo" suggests the spirit of unconquerable Japan, unchanging through the ages:

"The bamboo planted long ago
Along the garden breadth
Hath lost no color through the flow
Of Time and Change and Death."

Those who have studied the rescripts from Mutsuhito's pen will see that his prose, his poetry and his life made one harmony. His own faithful measuring up to his own ideals explains much of Japan's unhalting progress from the time when he took the helm of the Ship of State.

How the Emperor welcomed the new while loving the old, giving reverence to the latter while approving the former, is shown in two of his verses:

"E'en the children born in modern days
Should first be taught the good old ways,
Even plants and trees of alien clime
Take root in Nippon's earth,
When given the needful care and time."

and

"Lo! in my garden* all things thrive and grow,
E'en foreign trees and plants with care bestowed
Upon their shoots, grow strong and green,
Like those indigeous to soil and clime."

* "My garden" is the Empire.

CHAPTER XXXIII

JAPAN IN THE COUNCILS OF THE WORLD

Mikadoism recreated Japan and made the nation a unity. The Japanese people had now an opportunity to show their real genius and abilities to the world and to destroy the Occidental prejudices and superstitions gathering around the term "Oriental." Japan was soon enabled to take her place at the world's council tables.

So long as the nation was divided by dualism in government and comminuted in feudalism, with the classes separated by social gulfs both deep and wide, while kept rigidly apart by law, custom, ritual and even language, there could be no true expression of the national genius or power. Meanwhile the world remained in dense ignorance of the possibilities latent in the character of a people even yet strangely misunderstood.

Thirty-five years, however, have shown that Japan is able to adapt herself to a large measure of representative government; while ten years have shown her ability not only to hold her own in diplomacy but even to meet armies of an Occidental Power on the field of battle. In her scrupulous honor in discharging treaty obliga-

tion she is excelled by none. The sudden emergency of 1914, which found the nations of Europe at war, revealed also the fact that the Japanese Government was both prompt and willing in discharging her duties as an ally to Great Britain.

The determination of Japan to win recognition of her sovereignty and to abolish extraterritoriality from her borders would have come in time, through the despatch of an embassy to the Treaty Powers of the world. It is, however, an indisputable fact of history that this vital measure was first suggested, in writing, by the American missionary Guido F. Verbeck, in 1869. Even though internally ill fitted for the duties of a modern State and unlikely to secure recognition as a sovereign nation, Japan resolved to make the attempt to gain it. This she did, in 1872, by dispatching commissioners of highest rank to the capitals of the United States and Europe. Nevertheless, being still medieval and Oriental in her policy of religious persecution, even while financially and otherwise unprepared, especially in her judicial apparatus, her request was unanimously refused. In 1874 Japan "lacked the indispensable features of a modern State," as Marquis Ito said of Korea, in order to justify his policy of 1905-1909, so analogous to that of Europeans toward Japan in earlier days. Every Christian nation flatly refused to trust its subjects

to Japanese courts and prisons, and the Imperial embassy returned in bitter disappointment. Nevertheless few, even sons of the soil, will deny that her years of preparation and the putting of her house in order prepared Japan all the more for her subsequent faithful adherence to modern policies. In fact Kido, the greatest in constructive vision among the Méiji statesmen, always regretted the too easy success of the revolution of 1868. After the Constitution of 1889 had been granted and her judiciary and codes recreated, the path toward recognition of Japan's sovereignty was clear.

In 1900, led by Great Britain, the Western Powers made treaties with constitutional Japan on the status of an equal. Nevertheless the average Occidental does not yet award full faith and credit to Japan. It is with millions almost a permanent conviction, even as it formerly was a fixed dogma, that no "Oriental" nation is able to continue in the path of permanent progress. However promising might be its beginnings, many European statesmen predicted, even as most foreigners still expect, that Japan, wearying of her burdens as a world Power, and even "civilized" according to the Western ideas, will sooner or later falter and fall back in the race, reverting more or less profoundly to "Orientalism."

One of the most pointed arguments used to-day is that whereas in the early years of Méiji, espe-

cially in the struggle with China and Russia no breath of scandal or corruption was whispered against members of the Government, there have been in late years terrible revelations of graft; as, for example, in the sugar scandals, in the school textbook frauds, and the naval contracts, the latter of which provoked an outburst of militant democracy in Toyko which caused a crash in the Ministry and a change of Cabinets. Okuma, pupil of Verbeck in 1860, and veteran educator and statesman was made Premier.

Yet the cold facts of history, personal knowledge, and the absolute lack of any vital difference between Oriental or Occidental human nature dull the edge of the arguments of both admirers and detractors of Japan. Those who deem the Japanese to be the children of Eden, guileless and unspotted, are startled at the evidences of Japanese scoundrelism of a very modern and Occidental sort and which wears so familiar a look. Those who, even in dignified quarterly reviews, would set up Bushido, a bubble blown into the volume and thinness of iridescence by enthusiastic rhetoricians, against the Christianity of Jesus, are covered with confusion.

On the other hand, those who think that "Oriental" morality has its bottom only in the infernal regions have been stunned to find the Japanese so Christianlike in war and so honest in diplomacy. Those who know familiarly the inside his-

tory of Japan, during the early Méiji era, when penniless Samurai of low rank became very wealthy in being admirers of the Emperor and in administering heads of departments, see no geographical or social difference in the methods of nest lining, East or West.

No changes in the form of government or social rehabilitation of the classes have had any effect on the human heart, which remains the same as before. Japanese graft is no different in essence from the American, Russian, or British variety, but it takes on different forms and has to be curbed in different ways in different eras of time. It was by exposing the Hokkaido scandal, in 1883, that Okuma, now Premier, became a popular hero.*

It is doubtless true that the alliance made with Great Britain enabled Japan to accomplish two objects; first to roll back the tide of Russian aggression from her own soil, where the blood of

* Mr. W. W. McLaren, editor of "Japanese Government Documents," from 1867, says: "The history of graft during the Méiji era, when some day it can be written, will form an interesting parallel to the eighteenth century in England. Between the two stories there will be this curious difference, however, for in Japan there was little if any sentiment against dishonesty in public life. . . . With such a public sentiment, the result both of feudal tradition and Chinese philosophy, there is nothing remarkable in the all but unbroken uniformity of the practice of starting life in comparative poverty and dying millionaires." "Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan," Vol. XLII, pp. lxviii, lxix. 1914.

her people had been spilled by Russians more times than one, and also to substantiate her right of trade and residence on the soil of continental Asia. Furthermore, this alliance enabled an Asiatic people to demand and gain a "man's chance," and to demonstrate that the boasted invincibility that rests upon color, creed or conceit is a chimera.

In a large sense of the word, Mikadoism was the force that disturbed "the balance of power" in Europe, tumbled the edifices of British and Russian, German and French statecraft into ruin, and compelled world views. Mikadoism was the dynamite that ruined Bismarckian alliances, and, perhaps, as history may yet show, set the wisdom of Hamilton and Washington in clearer light. No alliance is without its entanglements. There is a close, logical connection between the battle of Mukden in 1905 and the European war of 1914. The unbroken series of victories of the Sun Banner in Manchuria demonstrated that the Russian war machine was obsolete, her platoon volleys absurd, her tactics and strategy impossible in modern times, and her transportation methods antiquated.

This revelation had an immediate effect in Europe. The quick eye of the Kaiser saw that the dual alliance of France and Russia was now, like the supposed neutrality of Belgium, "a bulwark of paper" and his military writers and staff offi-

cers thought with him. Bernhardi wrote his book, and a war party formed which dominated in succession the nation, the Crown Prince and ultimately the Kaiser. Pan-Germanism run mad, in its literary foam of book and map, rolled like a wave over the Empire. In the popular atlases, even, the Netherlands received the same color as did Germany.

Bismarck and the kind of a Fatherland that grew up after the humiliation of France, in 1870, were disturbed and irritated by what seemed the almost miraculous power of France to recuperate. Hostile diplomacy and veiled threats, from the man who wore his sword in the Diet and patted it significantly when the peace loving part of Germany's whisper of protest was heard against a policy of "blood and iron," became the rule. On the other hand, Russia showed increasing friendliness to France in one case, even mobilizing her army near the German frontier; which proceeding gave thought in Berlin. When Bismarck was retired, soon after the accession of William II., France and Russia concluded their defensive pact and the Dual Alliance became a new force in the politics of Europe.

I remember well the rejoicings in Paris, in 1891, when Russian artillerists sitting on their guns joined with the French cuirassiers and infantry in the pageant of Joan of Arc. Then the welkin rang with shouts of joy. This friendship

of Russia and France, during fifteen years or more, drew out from Kaiser William a great show of affability toward his country's former adversary, and many were the seeming tokens of his regard. When the Kaiser's warships in the Chinese Seas joined with the Dual Alliance of France and Russia to rob the Japanese of the fruits of their victory in the war with China, and the Emperor, whose "heart bleeds" to-day over Louvain in ashes, turned artist long enough to make pictures of "the yellow peril," he gave the Japanese opportunity to nourish a second unforgettable grudge against the Fatherland. The first was when, in 1879, a German man-of-war, in ostentatious defiance of Japan's civilization and hygienic laws, escorted to the docks in Yokohama a German steamer from a port infected with cholera, a proceeding which General Grant, who was then on the ground, declared should have been met by the concentrated fire of the Japanese forts. Later on, although at the Hague conference the German delegation placed the only real obstacle to the limitation of armaments, yet until 1906, even after the creation of the Entente between France and Great Britain, made in April, 1904, the Kaiser still acted so much like a gentleman and a Christian that he almost totally disarmed French distrust of Prussia. In fact, his amiability was extreme, until the Russian war machine broke down.

What was it that caused a sudden change in the brain under the spiked helmet and provoked what the world thought at the time was an unjustified outburst of militarism in France as shown in the enlargements of her armies?

The victory of Japan over Russia at Mukden, in February, 1905, disturbed the balance of power in Europe. In the spring of 1905 the Prussian military oligarchy that held Germany in its grip, the Kaiser being at its head, discovered that the Dual Alliance was no longer a formidable war engine.

Immediately there was a change of atmosphere in Germany. The British and French Entente must be broken. At Tangier, Morocco, the German Emperor showed his determination to intervene in international affairs. He insisted that the Algeciras Conference be called for the adjustment of the questions raised and demanded that the able French Minister Delcassé, author of the Entente and opposed to the conference project, be removed from office, threatening instant war if this were not done. France, though bullied, was not then ready to fight Germany and Delcassé resigned. The result of the Algeciras Conference, which lasted three months, was that a majority of the delegates justified the course of France. The Entente was strengthened and Germany became less, and not more, the dictator of Europe.

Meanwhile France improved her army and navy, and quickly renewed her strength, but later, at the critical moment of French Ministerial adjustments that promised to open a weak point in the national armor of France, the German warship *Panther,* at Agadir, the most southern point of Morocco, made virtual invasion of French territory. This disagreeable surprise, with electrical celerity, transformed Frenchmen of every shade of belief, opinion and social grade into lovers of "an Eternal France." Never was the nation more united. Like a rock, the German bluff was defied and withstood. In mutually tense expectancy, war was looked for within twenty-four hours, but France budged not an inch.

One incident, almost theatrically comical, showed the tenseness of the strain, when war was likely to be declared by telegraph. At Jemappes, in Belgium, where in 1792 Lafayette, of American fame, with his young conscript French republicans had defeated an army of Austrian veterans, a Gallic cock in bronze, instead of the Napoleonic eagle, was to be unveiled; but on the day appointed both the French President and the Belgian King, previously announced on the programme, "glared by their absence," and the ovation of the French General Langlois was "as colorless as a royal speech from the Throne."

From this time forth the costly forts of Liège,

built a generation before but unoccupied, were garrisoned and provisioned, and France improved her artillery. When in 1912 the French Government discovered that Germany had 690,000 soldiers under arms, while France had but 583,000, and that the Teuton's war chest exceeded that of the Gauls by over $40,000,000, they took the alarm. When, in the January following, Germany made a third increase in her army, making it thirty per cent larger than that of France, the conscripts then under the Tricolor were held to arms for another year, and the term of enlistment was lengthened from two to three years. On the sea Germany's navy was planned to be, in 1917, twice as large as that of France. Thus the mania for colossal armaments went on. The German effective force, suddenly raised from 700,000 to 880,000 men, meant inevitably an early obedience to the call of the books of Bernhardi and Frobenius, and pointed to the war of 1914.

In this strife of nations Japan, as the ally of Great Britain, was summoned at the call from Downing Street, to enter with her splendid army and navy. Under the Premiership of Count Okuma the Imperial Diet on September 9, 1914, voted unanimously to adopt the war programme of the Government and appropriated $26,500,000 to carry out the measures for removing Germany from the sphere of affairs in China. The plan was

to capture the fortified Tsing-Tau, and to hand back to China that portion of her territory in Shang Tung wrested from her by Germany in 1897.

What the issue of the great world war of 1914 may be is not within the domain of history, which records the past but makes no forecasts of the future. It is clear, however, from a study of Mikadoism that, according to the doctrines of the conservation and transmutation of forces, Japan's ancient institution, revived in modern form, has profoundly influenced both the nation and the world.

On this institution, as on a rock, Japan makes her claims for full recognition by the nations of the world. Ignoring prejudices and ignorances, the race and color hatreds which are the legacies of barbaric ages, she demands the fulfilment of all treaty obligations and the common justice mutually expected from each other by the most civilized nations.

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